Society and Culture in Medieval Rouen, 911–1300

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in Medieval Rouen,
911–1300

Edited by

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Preface

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It is a great privilege to contribute the Preface to this excellent volume. It was in the 1960s and 1970s that I first became truly acquainted with Rouen, spending many hours in the Archives départementales de la Seine-Maritime and the Bibliothèque municipale and thereby first becoming aware of the rich archives held by those two institutions. Almost four decades later, the walk from my cheap but clean and well-run hotel near the Gare Rive-Droite to the rue du Gros-Horloge and the cathedral, then across the Seine to the cours Clémenceau and the Archives, remains a vivid and inspiring memory. I reflected often on the quantity and quality of the unpublished archives in the Tour des Archives and the need, where possible, for archaeological work within the city. This was after all one of the great Viking cities of north-western Europe, comparable to York, but historically much less well known than it for an English-speaking audience, and then one of the great cities of the cross-Channel empires of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. While much has been accomplished since those relatively remote times, above all through the excavations near the cathedral overseen by Jacques Le Maho, until now, no one has tried to bring the often inaccessible material and the life of this great medieval city fully into focus.

In this volume, we have a clear perspective on Rouen's growth during the remarkable years from 900 to 1300, its merchant elite, its place within the so-called Norman and Angevin Empires, the impact of the takeover by the French king in 1204, the way it was represented in literary sources both in terms of movement and space and as an imperial city, its clergy, the ways in which provision was made for the sick and the poor, the tensions within the city, its Jewish community, and much else besides. The editors have assembled essays from

leading scholars based in France and Britain and have, as a result, produced a depth of authoritative learning that no single author could have managed. What stays in my mind as unfinished business from those morning and evening walks across Rouen is the scale of the surviving archives: the archives of the abbey of Saint-Ouen have scarcely been tackled by anyone, the leper-house of Le Mont-aux-Malades has left behind what must rank as one of the great European archives for an institution of its kind, the thirteenth-century cartulary of the cathedral remains unedited, and so on. In bringing this splendid volume to completion, Elma Brenner and Leonie Hicks say clearly that more needs to be done. But what they have accomplished is to produce a volume containing a large collection of excellent essays that both illuminate many major issues and point the way forward for further endeavours. One of the great cities of medieval north-western Europe has received the tribute that it fully deserves.

Introduction

Elma Brenner and Leonie V. Hicks

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Today, Rouen is a provincial capital, a focus of commerce and tourism, but not among the largest cities of France. Nonetheless, much remains to testify to the city's importance in the Middle Ages: the great cathedral, the *maisons à colombage*, the Vieux Marché, and the river Seine, the trading route upon which Rouen's medieval prosperity was based. Given its status as a great city of medieval Western Europe, it is surprising that more historical work on Rouen has not been published in English or other languages.[1] This volume contains exciting new research on Rouen, focusing on the city's society and culture from 911 to the end of the thirteenth century. The chapters aim both to build upon existing studies of medieval Rouen, published from the seventeenth century onwards, and to examine this urban centre in the light of the approaches of recent work on other medieval cities, in Normandy, France, and further afield. These new approaches range from the study of urban space and social networks, to discussions of image and identity and analysis of the relationship between centre and periphery. The volume demonstrates that certain aspects of Rouen's medieval history are still hotly debated, such as the positioning of the city walls at different points in time.[2] There is still much to learn about the society and culture of medieval Rouen, particularly from the city's rich archives, architectural remains, and archaeological deposits, and it is hoped that this book will provoke further research on this fascinating and important city.

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[1] The valuable collection, mainly in English, Stratford, *Medieval Art, Architecture and Archaeology at Rouen* focuses on art and architecture, though David Bates's historical overview, Bates, 'Rouen from 900 to 1204', provides an excellent general introduction to medieval Rouen.

[2] See the essays by Bernard Gauthiez and Fanny Madeline in this volume.

In his introduction to the 2006 volume *Les Villes normandes au Moyen Âge*, François Neveux emphasizes that 'The urban history of Normandy is at its very early stages'.[3] Indeed, comprehensive chronological studies of Rouen and Caen, the two great cities of Normandy, only date from the late 1970s and early 1980s.[4] The renewal of urban history as a field of research in France and beyond from the 1970s onwards invites further study of urban culture, society, and development in the cities of Normandy, particularly Rouen. Since the history of great cities is very often continuous over time (albeit with the fluctuation of a city's size, population, and prosperity), it is hoped that, while focusing on the specific period 911–1300, the chapters in this volume will be relevant to readers interested in urban history in all periods.[5]

Medieval towns and cities are currently being examined from a number of new perspectives, as evidenced by the rich contents of the edited volumes *Urban Space in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Age* (2009) and *Cities, Texts, and Social Networks, 400–1500* (2010).[6] Influenced by anthropologists and critical theorists, the contributors to the latter book are interested in the perceptions and experiences of the people who lived in medieval cities and issues such as urban space, movement, and social networks, as opposed to the 'traditional' investigation of economics, demography, and political institutions. The editors argue in favour of the interdisciplinary study of urban history and suggest that the medieval city has been marginalized in this field 'because it does not always adhere to the standards of either modernity or antiquity'. Thus, in the field of urban studies as a whole, the balance needs to be redressed.[7] In focusing on urban space, Albrecht Classen, the editor of the 2009 volume, is particularly concerned to establish what the city really meant for medieval or early modern people. Like the 2010 volume, the emphasis here is very much upon contemporary ideas, attitudes, and experiences with regard to cities. Classen underlines the fact that much remains to be discovered about medieval cities, in terms of issues

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[3] 'L'histoire urbaine de la Normandie n'en est qu'à ses débuts': Neveux, 'Introduction', p. 7.

[4] Mollat, *Histoire de Rouen*; Désert, *Histoire de Caen*. The rich seventeenth- and nineteenth-century studies of Rouen by François Farin and Adolphe Chéruel should not be overlooked: Farin, *Histoire de la ville de Rouen*; Chéruel, *Histoire de Rouen pendant l'époque communale*. For Caen, also see Jean-Marie, *Caen aux XIᵉ et XIIᵉ siècles*.

[5] See Neveux, 'Introduction', pp. 10, 11.

[6] Classen, *Urban Space in the Middle Ages*; Goodson, Lester, and Symes, *Cities, Texts, and Social Networks*.

[7] Goodson, Lester, and Symes, 'Preface'; Goodson, Lester, and Symes, 'Introduction', pp. 4–5, 6, 11–13.

ranging from social tensions to the physical environment, and the study of urban space is evidently a highly effective means by which to approach such topics.[8]

Important work has been conducted in the past twenty years regarding Norman cities other than Rouen: this has served to highlight the absence of such a study relating to the latter. François Neveux has compared the history of Bayeux and Lisieux in the later Middle Ages, while Laurence Jean-Marie has traced the urban development of Caen in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.[9] Like Rouen, Bayeux and Lisieux were both ancient episcopal towns; Caen, on the other hand, had only emerged by the first part of the eleventh century. Bayeux resembled the 'second capital of Normandy' in the eleventh century, but its status as a political and financial centre was soon eclipsed by the rise of Caen.[10] Lisieux, though less significant than Bayeux, was an important episcopal centre, as evidenced by the prominence of Arnulf, Bishop of Lisieux (1141–81), who played an active role in the dispute between Henry II and Thomas Becket.[11] Jean-Marie's work on Caen is particularly significant, since it sheds new light on the second city of Normandy, where the Norman Exchequer was located from at least the 1170s or 1180s. She traces the topographical development of Caen in the formative period of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, drawing upon documentary sources, archaeological findings, and post-medieval maps and plans, and also 'populates' the urban space of Caen through a study of its society.[12] Jean-Marie's spatial and social lines of enquiry and her multidisciplinary approach are reflected in the contents of the present volume on Rouen.

Religious life and religious institutions were central in the medieval city: major cities were episcopal centres and were topographically shaped by parish boundaries and important holy sites.[13] Religious buildings, from parish churches to great cathedrals, had many broader social functions, as sites for political meetings, the storing of secular documents, and the marking of time (through their bells and clocks). They were also 'focal points for urban growth

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[8] Classen, 'Introduction', pp. 1, 28, 29–30.

[9] Neveux, *Bayeux et Lisieux*; Jean-Marie, *Caen aux XIe et XIIe siècles*. Also see Bouet and Neveux, *Les Villes normandes au Moyen Âge*.

[10] 'la capitale secondaire de la Normandie': Neveux, *Bayeux et Lisieux*, pp. 3, 29–30, 31–32; Jean-Marie, *Caen aux XIe et XIIe siècles*, pp. 7, 8, 27–31.

[11] Neveux, *Bayeux et Lisieux*, p. 32. Also see Arnulf of Lisieux, *The Letters*, ed. by Barlow; Arnulf of Lisieux, *The Letter Collections*, trans. by Schriber.

[12] Jean-Marie, *Caen aux XIe et XIIe siècles*, pp. 7–8, 215–16.

[13] See Goodson, Lester, and Symes, 'Introduction', p. 10.

and development'.[14] Monastic houses played an important role in the urban economy, as property owners, employers, and sites of production. Significant work has been conducted in the past relating to Rouen's monasteries, hospitals, secular clergy, and parishes, and several chapters in the present book make important new contributions to our understanding of the dynamics of religious life in and around the city.[15] The nineteenth- and early twentieth-century studies of the priory of Saint-Lô, the abbey of Saint-Amand, and the leper hospital of Mont-aux-Malades, by Léonce de Glanville, Marie-Josèphe Le Cacheux, and Pierre Langlois, remain the basis for any modern-day study of these institutions.[16] More recently, Vincent Tabbagh has made an extensive prosopographical survey of ecclesiastical dignitaries in the archdiocese of Rouen between 1200 and 1500 and has studied the status and activities of the priests who served Rouen's thirty-one parishes in the fifteenth century.[17] Adam Davis has contributed a valuable study of the career of Eudes Rigaud, Archbishop of Rouen (1248–76), whose *Register*, compiled between 1248 and 1269, is arguably the richest source of information about religious life in Rouen and its archdiocese in the thirteenth century.[18] By focusing on the religious unit of the urban parish, Philippe Cailleux's recent book increases our knowledge of three Rouen parishes: Saint-Lô, Notre-Dame de la Ronde, and Saint-Herbland.[19]

Rouen's important Jewish community did not receive detailed attention until the work of Norman Golb, published in French in 1985.[20] Although at times Golb's reconstruction of the history of Rouen's Jews is based on questionable interpretations, his study made scholars aware of a prominent com-

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[14] Classen, 'Introduction', pp. 17–18.

[15] See the chapters by Richard Allen and Grégory Combalbert on archiepiscopal activity, and the chapters by Elma Brenner (on the sick and needy) and Elma Brenner and Leonie V. Hicks (on Rouen's Jews) in this volume.

[16] De Glanville, *Histoire du prieuré de Saint-Lô de Rouen*; Le Cacheux, 'Histoire de l'abbaye de Saint-Amand de Rouen'; Langlois, *Histoire du prieuré du Mont-aux-Malades-lès-Rouen*.

[17] Tabbagh, *Diocèse de Rouen*; Tabbagh, 'L'Exercice de la fonction curiale à Rouen'.

[18] Davis, *The Holy Bureaucrat*. The *Register* of Eudes Rigaud has been published in Latin and in an English translation: Eudes Rigaud, *Regestrum visitationum archiepiscopi Rothomagensis*, ed. by Bonnin; Eudes Rigaud, *The Register*, trans. by Brown.

[19] Cailleux, *Trois paroisses de Rouen*.

[20] Golb, *Les Juifs de Rouen au Moyen Âge*. Also see Golb, *The Jews in Medieval Normandy*. On Rouen's Jews in the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries, see the chapter by Elma Brenner and Leonie V. Hicks in this volume.

munity that had been very much neglected and overlooked.[21] By studying Hebrew texts as well as sources in Latin and French, Golb revealed that the Jewish community was possibly well established before the eleventh century and that it experienced a period of stability and cultural efflorescence during the twelfth century, remaining culturally strong until the expulsion of the Jews from France in 1306. He suggests that the large number of sources relating to Rouen's Jews between 1000 and 1150, as opposed to the lack of source material regarding other Jewish communities in northern France in this period, testifies to the great significance of Rouen's community. The remains of a Romanesque building believed to have been a rabbinical school, discovered by archaeologists beneath the courtyard of the Palais de Justice in Rouen in 1976, provide concrete evidence of the firm presence and scholarly activities of Rouen's Jews.[22]

Knowledge of the material culture and topography of Rouen has been greatly furthered by the work of Jacques Le Maho, Cécile Niel, and Bernard Gauthiez. Following his extensive archaeological excavations around Rouen Cathedral in the 1980s and 1990s, more recently Jacques Le Maho has examined the relationship between Rouen and its hinterland in the ducal period, noting the extension of ducal and ecclesiastical interests into the area around Rouen and the strong links of interdependence between city and hinterland.[23] Le Maho's excavations of the cathedral included work on the cemeteries in the Cour d'Albane (north of the cathedral) and the Cour des Maçons (south of the cathedral) between the tenth and fourteenth centuries. Cécile Niel has analysed the data resulting from these excavations, in particular examining burial practices, the spatial distribution of tombs, and the information that the skeletons provide about the medieval population of Rouen, in terms of health, ethnicity, and living conditions.[24] Bernard Gauthiez has compared the urban development of the city to that of Paris under Henry II and Philip Augustus, and both he and Dominique Pitte have increased our understanding of architecture and buildings in medieval Rouen.[25]

[21] Robinson, 'Review of Golb, *Les Juifs de Rouen*'.

[22] Golb, *Les Juifs de Rouen au Moyen Âge*, pp. xxii, xxiv, xxv, 419–22. On the Jewish monument discovered in 1976, see also Klein, *La Maison sublime*.

[23] Le Maho, 'Les Fouilles de la cathédrale de Rouen'; Le Maho, 'Aux origines du "Grand-Rouen"', pp. 177, 178–85, 193.

[24] Niel, 'Analyse historique et paléoanthropologique des cimetières', i, 60–63; Niel, 'Le Recrutement des cimetières du groupe épiscopal de Rouen'.

[25] Gauthiez, 'Paris, un Rouen capétien?'; Gauthiez, 'Les Maisons de Rouen'; Pitte, 'Architecture civile en pierre à Rouen'.

Finally, important work has been completed recently by Alain Sadourny on Rouen's society and political structures in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.[26] The civic government of Rouen (the commune) appears to have been formally established in the *Établissements de Rouen*, a document drawn up between 1160 and 1170.[27] From this point, Rouen was governed by a mayor and one hundred citizens (*pairs*). The mayors were members of the leading burgess families, which included the Groignet, Pigache, du Donjon, Le Gros, du Chastel, and Naguet lineages.[28] These families played a key role in the urban development of Rouen in this period, and Manon Six's paper in the present volume sheds new light on their identity and activities.

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The essays in this volume are organized into three thematic sections: these themes reflect different areas of city life and emphasize the important characteristics of Rouen and how it functioned as a medieval city. Life in a city was multifaceted, governed by a series of overlapping and conflicting interests. We may think of Rouen as a great, economically dynamic trading centre, but it was also the scene of significant intellectual achievements and religious activity. The themes in this volume reflect this fact and demonstrate the vibrancy of a city that was the seat of an archbishop, the central place of a duchy virtually independent from the French crown, and the potential capital of an empire.

The first section focuses on ideas of space and representation. Space here is taken to mean the topography of the city, as well as the mental constructions and conceptions of city space found in the literary sources. Questions of representation are vital in determining how the citizens viewed themselves, and how they and the city were viewed by those looking in from outside. Central to these papers is the process of urbanization, and how it was affected by the political and economic developments of the tenth to fourteenth centuries, as well as the idea of Rouen as a capital or place of special significance for the dukes of Normandy. This section begins with Bernard Gauthiez's account of urban development in Rouen from the end of the tenth century onwards, which pro-

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[26] Sadourny, 'Les Grandes familles rouennaises'; Sadourny, 'Les Débuts de la commune de Rouen'.

[27] See Giry, *Les Établissements de Rouen*.

[28] On these families, see Sadourny, 'Les Grandes familles rouennaises', especially pp. 268–71, and Sadourny, 'Les Débuts de la commune de Rouen', pp. 395–98. Also see Deck, 'Les Marchands de Rouen sous les ducs'.

vides an overview of the city throughout our period. Gauthiez focuses very much on the infrastructure of the city, charting changes in the town plan, population growth, and patronage. Drawing on archaeological and documentary evidence, as well as the city plan itself, he shows how Rouen expanded from the Gallo-Roman enclosure to encompass a much larger area on the north bank of the Seine. Gauthiez also tackles the difficult issue of 1204 and the effects of the loss of Normandy to the French crown on the city's economy.

One of the key methodological problems to emerge from Gauthiez's paper is that of the difficulties in using fragmentary and, at times, contradictory evidence. This problem is particularly evident in trying to draw a hypothesis for the development of Rouen's walled enclosure, a point taken up by Fanny Madeline in her chapter. The focus of her argument is to re-evaluate the city's place in the Angevin Empire, focusing on the patronage of the Angevin kings in a more comparative manner alongside cities like London and Poitiers. She also considers Rouen in relation to its hinterland, as far south as the fortifications at Château-Gaillard, picking up from Gauthiez's discussion of the development of its suburbs. Again, the date 1204 is of central importance, putting an end to the development of Rouen as a 'capital' — a term which, Madeline stresses, is by no means unproblematic — in the way that Paris became. At times Gauthiez and Madeline disagree on the specifics of the urban plans. Rather than seeing this as a problem to be reconciled, the editors regard this as illustrative of the importance and complexity of Rouen as a medieval city and of the vibrancy of current scholarship, in which different approaches and disciplines ask interesting questions of the evidence.

The final two papers in this section turn towards the representation of the city in narrative and literary sources. Elisabeth van Houts continues the discussion of Rouen as a capital by considering Rouen's imperial connections as examined in two Latin poems of the twelfth century: the anonymous *Rothoma nobilis* and Stephen of Rouen's *Draco Normannicus*. Van Houts situates these works firmly in the intellectual milieu of Angevin Normandy and reflects upon how the politics of the struggles between the Empress Matilda and her cousin Stephen affected the way that learned poets conceptualized the capital of Normandy. Through both poems, Rouen is viewed as a political centre, though to where it looks differs. These works reflect a restructuring of political focus before and after the civil war of the mid-twelfth century: the Rouen of *Rothoma nobilis* looks south to the court of King Roger II of Sicily, whereas relations with France, often strained, are at the heart of Stephen of Rouen's poem. Above all, it is the imperial glory of Rouen's Roman past that is of concern at the height of the Angevin Empire. Van Houts also includes a translation of *Rothoma nobilis* at the end of her paper.

Leonie Hicks, in contrast, hones in on the city streets themselves in her exploration of the chroniclers' depiction of movement around Rouen. Using examples ranging from Dudo of Saint-Quentin's *History of the Normans* to Wace's *Roman de Rou*, she demonstrates that these writers used movement as a means of examining their spatial conception of the city and considers the implications for their understanding of how Rouen functioned and the interaction of political and social groups. In the main, Hicks's examples are drawn from times of stress, particularly invasion, rebellion, or riot, which reflect the chroniclers' concern with political relationships between Normandy and her neighbours, notably the King of France, and the competing factions within the city itself. Descriptions of movement allow the city to become much more visible and dynamic in the staging of displays of authority and allegiance, rather than simply being a static symbol.

In the second section, Rouen's role as a religious centre is considered. The city was the seat of the Archbishop of Rouen, whose province closely coincided with the boundaries of Normandy. The section begins with Richard Allen's analysis of the career of Archbishop Robert, son of Duke Richard I and adviser to subsequent dukes up to the early years of the reign of Duke William II (the Conqueror). As Allen notes, Robert's long episcopate was central to re-establishing the secular church in Normandy and close ties between the Church and the ducal household. His activities encompassed patronage, particularly in the rebuilding of his cathedral, and the fostering of intellectual links with important centres on both sides of the Channel, for example, Winchester and Chartres. The stability provided by his tenure and leadership in Rouen also helped to promote trade, a timely reminder of the multiple roles that a medieval bishop was supposed to play. Allen includes an edition of Robert's *Acta*, sources that have not previously been edited or published, as an appendix to his paper.

Grégory Combalbert focuses his attention on the archbishops' patronage within the parishes of Rouen, drawing on the charter evidence for the cathedral and other religious communities from the eleventh century to the episcopate of Eudes Rigaud. The archbishops' activities in this sphere brought them into conflict with the monasteries of the city, and this paper is notable for its elucidation of the relationship between the archbishops and some of the major Benedictine abbeys with interests in Rouen, notably Saint-Ouen. Combalbert also stresses how ecclesiastical patronage and the development of the parish structure could act as a spur to economic growth, or in some cases, a barrier, depending on the nature of the conflict between the archbishops, parishes, and monastic houses.

The final section focuses on the social networks at work in the city, particularly the interaction between different groups of people. Although the focus

here is primarily on the social and economic facets of life in Rouen, numerous links with our previous sections are apparent, particularly in terms of the role of religious patronage in creating identities and sustaining connections. Several of our authors also take up the problematic idea explored in the first section, of Rouen as a 'capital'. Kirsten Fenton considers the interaction of female agency, property, and power in the eleventh century. Rouen makes a particularly good case study for such interaction due to the numerous religious houses located in and around the city. In her examination of some of the surviving cartularies, Fenton demonstrates how this documentation can reveal acts of female lordship and the interests of kin groups. Her study also shows the potential of this kind of work for illuminating legal developments prior to the more formal setting down of customs in written form.

Manon Six's and Daniel Power's essays examine the society of Rouen in the years surrounding the annexation of Normandy to France in 1204, primarily exploiting the documentary sources from the city. Both authors tackle social history, but from different perspectives. Six focuses on the burgesses of Rouen in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. She examines in particular some of the leading families, tracing the establishment of lineages, as well as a number of prominent individuals, whose involvement in financial matters was particularly important for the development of trade in the city. In contrast, Power addresses the economic activities of the aristocracy. In so doing, he challenges the chroniclers' negative portrayal of interaction between the aristocracy and the rising burgess class. Although there was tension between the two groups, and each was keen to ensure that the other did not encroach on its rights, there was also a significant degree of cooperation. Both groups needed to work together in order to ensure that the city functioned properly in times of war and peace. Both Power and Six stress the significance of Rouen's status as a (former) capital and its importance for the socio-political community of Normandy more broadly. They also develop one of the underlying themes of this volume — the connections between Rouen and its hinterland.

Paul Webster's essay explores the wider significance of Rouen for Norman and Angevin society as a whole. He examines the relationship between King John and Rouen as the 'capital' of Normandy. Following on from Six's and Power's contributions, he considers John's relations with the city community in order to challenge the accepted historiographical view that the King was unconcerned with Rouen and the wider duchy of Normandy. For Webster, a detailed discussion of John's itinerary and his patronage of religious institutions is key to showing how and why the city was so vital to Angevin political interests: he therefore picks up on themes considered particularly by Madeline and van Houts.

The final two chapters turn towards the traditionally excluded in medieval cities, in particular the sick, the needy, and Jews. Elma Brenner considers the role of charity in the medieval city as seen through the operation of hospitals, *leprosaria* (leper hospitals), and provision for the needy within Rouen. She focuses on the interactions between these different institutions and some of the other religious houses in the city, notably Saint-Ouen and Saint-Lô, as well as the Archbishop's household and the citizens. Elma Brenner and Leonie Hicks survey our current knowledge of Rouen's Jewish community. Archaeological findings in the area of the rue aux Juifs, including the remains of the building which may have been a rabbinical school, suggest that the Jews had a sophisticated infrastructure. The Jewish community played an important financial role and was intellectually significant. Certain Jewish converts appear to have become leading burgesses. Nonetheless, the position of the Jews in Rouen's society in the thirteenth century remained fragile and uneasy, as demonstrated by Archbishop Eudes Rigaud's condemnation of a lapsed converted Jew.

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The essays in this volume demonstrate the complexity of Rouen's society and culture between the tenth and the thirteenth centuries. Although the city was prosperous and a political and religious centre, its society was shaped not only by kings, archbishops, and burgesses, but also by Jews, the leprous, and the poor. This period was marked by significant urban development in Rouen and by the impact of major changes, particularly the annexation of Normandy to France in 1204. While this volume presents new research on Rouen in the light of recent approaches in urban history, it is also hoped that it will elicit further research on this important city, about which much still remains to be discovered.

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Part I

Space and Representation

The Urban Development of Rouen, 989–1345

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This paper analyses the physical plan of Rouen to demonstrate impor-
tant new hypotheses about the process of urbanization. It focuses on
morphological data: structures like planned developments, walls, and
ditches, and their relative dating. Written records and archaeological data are
also explored, though not exhaustively, as the city archives are vast and rich.
These sources complement each other: for example, morphological hypoth-
eses of walls help make sense of written records that are otherwise difficult to
understand. When considering only material and written data, such an under-
standing is generally unachievable as the records are too vestigial. This leads
to difficulties in interpretation and historiographical controversy, for example
the debate between Fallue and Richard in the early nineteenth century about
the dating and limits of the walls.[1] Written records rarely give any indications
of planning decisions, but more often supply us with dates. Archaeological evi-
dence, including the buildings themselves, tells us what remains of decisions
made at a more detailed spatial level — a house or a new wall encountered in
different places — corresponding to major or minor transformations within
the urban plan. This method provides new insights on the historical landscape,
but also opens up new questions and discussions. This paper suggests a tentative
modelling of the process and shape of spatial transformations, of decisions that

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[1] Chéruel, *Histoire de Rouen pendant l'époque communale*; Fallue, 'Essai sur l'époque de con-
struction des diverses enceintes militaires'; Richard, *Recherches historiques sur Rouen*; Richard,
'Réponse à l'essai sur l'époque de construction'; Musset, 'Rouen au temps des Francs et sous les
ducs', pp. 53–61.
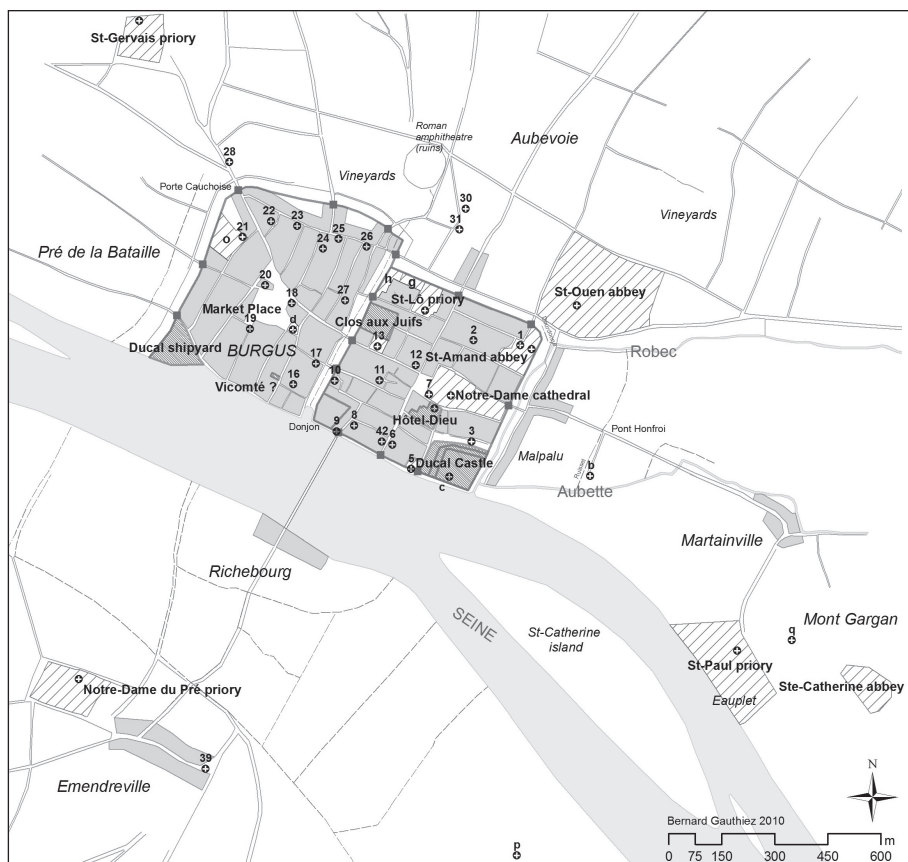
Map 1. Hypothetical reconstruction of the plan of Rouen at the end of the eleventh century. The town comprised two main parts: the burgus to the west and the old city to the east (© B. Gauthiez).

Parishes: (1) Saint-Amand, (2) Saint-Nicolas, (3) Saint-Denis, (5) Saint-Cande (le Vieux), (6) Saint-Martin (du Pont), (7) Saint-Étienne, (8) Saint-Étienne (des Tonneliers), (9) Saint-Clément, (10) Saint-Pierre (du Châtel), (11) Saint-Cande (le Jeune), (12) Saint-Herbland, (13) Notre-Dame (de la Ronde), (16) Saint-Vincent, (17) Saint-André (hors la ville), (18) Saint-Michel, (19) Saint-Eloi, (20) Saint-Sauveur, (21) Saint-Pierre (le Portier), (22) Saint-Vigor, (23) Sainte-Marie (la Petite), (24) Sainte-Croix, (25) Saint-Pierre, (26) Saint-Martin (sur Renelle), (27) Saint-Jean, (28) Saint-André (aux Fèvres), (30) Saint-Godard, (31) Saint-Laurent, (39) Saint-Sever.

Other religious buildings: (42) Saint-Martin (hospital), (b) Saint-Marc, (c) castle chapel of Saint-Romain, (h) Jumièges abbey manor, (o) Fécamp abbey manor, (q) chapel of Saint-Michel, (r) chapel(?) of Saint-Mathieu.

led to visible new forms like streets and walls, and slower urbanization processes like the eventual occupation of plots or the abandonment of ditches. Since I completed my doctoral study of Rouen in 1991, my work has been followed up and discussed, and much research has been carried out, especially in the field, producing a large amount of new data and interpretations.[2]

This paper considers the transformation of Rouen over three centuries, organized primarily according to significant points in the history of the city: the death of William the Conqueror in 1087 and the conquest of Normandy by Philip Augustus in 1204. For each period, the materiality of urbanization is examined including new developments, the building of new churches and religious houses, civic constructions, castles (no less than three at Rouen, notwithstanding a fourth one that falls outside the scope of this paper),[3] walls, and houses both of the rich and of the poor. The urban fabric is, as much as possible, interpreted in terms of multiple powers acting within the city space, of economic trends and interests, and of social differentiation and tensions. The period examined here ends with the great mid-fourteenth-century crisis that ushered in a new era for the city.

The City of Rouen c. 1000 and in the Eleventh Century

A Large Westward Expansion c. 1000, from Portus to Burgus

The most remarkable development of Rouen c. 1000 is perhaps its extension to the west. The street layout to the north of the place du Vieux-Marché, particularly between the square itself, the rue du Gros-Horloge, and the rue Cauchoise to the south and the rue des Bons-Enfants to the north, suggests a planned development. The rues Renelle, Sénécaux, Ecuyère, Sainte-Croix des Pelletiers, and de l'Ancienne-Prison are more or less parallel, and as their southern extremity does not form a right angle, they are certainly later than the rues du Gros-Horloge and Cauchoise and the place du Vieux-Marché. The eighteenth-century parish division corresponds to this layout. On the rue des Bons-Enfants there was a church at every second junction (Saint-Martin sur Renelle, Saint-Pierre l'Honoré, and Sainte-Marie la Petite), and each parish

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[2] Gauthiez, 'La Logique de l'espace urbain, formation et évolution'.

[3] The castle built by Henri V from 1419 on the Seine. Several smaller forts existed in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries at the two extremities of the bridge, and the fort Sainte-Catherine developed into a citadel in the 1560s.

tends to correspond to one street. Eight parishes may have been created in this context (adding Saint-Vigor, Sainte-Croix des Pelletiers, Saint-Jean, Saint-Pierre le Portier, and Saint-André hors la Ville).[4] At least five parishes had a name that already existed in the older part of the city, which implies organized patronage associated with new developments: for example, the abbey of Saint-Ouen, also dedicated to Saint-Pierre, and the new parish of Saint-Pierre l'Honoré and the cathedral dedicated to Notre-Dame and the parish of Sainte-Marie la Petite.[5] In addition, two new streets were probably laid out to the west of the Vieux-Marché and the rue du Vieux-Palais and rue Fontenelle, linking the rue Cauchoise southwards to the Seine.

The dating of this urban extension, to the north and west of the pre-existing *portus* (port) and the market square, is mainly archaeological. Numerous sites in this area seem to have been occupied in the early eleventh century.[6] The parishes and streets are generally not mentioned until the late twelfth or early thirteenth century, but some are recorded earlier: for example Saint-André hors la Ville, when the parish was given to the abbey of Jumièges in 1027 by Duke Robert (1026–35), or Sainte-Croix des Pelletiers, given to the abbey of Saint-Ouen in 1067 by a certain Count Alain.[7] The oldest reference to a street is 'vicus Burnengi' in 1070–71, probably the rue Fontenelle. A late eleventh-century stone house in the rue des Béguines, in the western part of the extension, was described in 1846.[8] Unfortunately, a chronicle reference to the city's expansion westwards on ducal meadows and arable land *c*. 1000, cited by Periaux, is untraceable.[9]

That this area was probably developed in the early eleventh century is also supported by indirect information. Analysis of the liberty charter given to the *Homines Rotomagensis* in 1150–51 by King Henry II (1154–89) suggests it was

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[4] Gauthiez, 'La Logique de l'espace urbain, formation et évolution', pp. 106, 140–46.

[5] Gauthiez, 'La Logique de l'espace urbain, formation et évolution', pp. 143–44; Le Maho, 'Recherches sur les origines de quelques églises de Rouen', pp. 187–89.

[6] Le Maho, 'Rouen au haut Moyen Âge'; Pitte, 'Quelques apports récents de l'archéologie à la connaissance', p. 73; Pitte, 'Rouen: découvertes archéologiques effectuées'. Lequoy and others, 'Rouen, Métro bus de l'agglomération rouennaise'. The church of Saint-Jean was enlarged in the eleventh century, and the rue Saint-Antoine was established in the first half of the eleventh century. Rue Herbière also dates from the eleventh century: Langlois, 'Rouen, place de la Pucelle', p. 101.

[7] *Recueil des actes des ducs de Normandie*, ed. by Fauroux, no. 36; Rouen, Arch. dép. de la Seine-Maritime, 14 H 18, no. 273.

[8] *Regesta regum Anglo-Normannorum*, ed. by Davis and others, I, no. 56. Frank, 'Épisodes normands', pp. 63–64.

[9] Periaux, *Histoire sommaire et chronologique de la ville de Rouen*, p. 33.

probably based on an earlier document dating from the first half of the eleventh century. A justice council was then established, with five men from the *burgus* (the suburban area outside the city walls) and five from the *civitas* (the area within the city walls). The *burgarii* of Rouen are mentioned in 1037–40,[10] so it seems logical to argue that the west part of the town (comprising the old *portus* on the river Seine, the market square, and the newly developed areas), covering about 25 ha after its extension (about as large as the walled city), was the *burgus*. From the mid-eleventh century, the men of Rouen are indistinctly called *cives*, which means that no difference of right existed between city and *bourg*, although previously *civitas* was restricted to the late Roman walled area. The land within this perimeter was in free fief and directly depended on the duke (*franc-alleu*).[11]

The New Ducal Residence: The Tower

The first ducal castle, the 'Rotomagensis urbis palatia',[12] was possibly on the site of the Carolingian castle at Rouen, and probably the place later named Le Donjon, at the south-west angle of the Roman city wall, along the Seine, facing downriver; however, information about this early castle is still very limited. The name Le Donjon appears only in 1231.[13] A church nearby is named Saint-Pierre du Châtel. More significant is the fact that the porte Saint-Clément, with a chapel, was placed on a street bordering the east side of the donjon precinct. In 1006 Duke Richard II (996–1026) gave this chapel to the abbey of Fécamp, whose abbot was William of Volpiano, close counsellor of the Duke.[14] After the building of the tower, Saint-Clément, bearing a dedication common in the Scandinavian context, became a parish and then, in the mid-thirteenth century, the Cordeliers' chapel.[15] The association of the donjon with a chapel

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[10] Gauthiez, 'La Logique de l'espace urbain, formation et évolution', pp. 149–51. *Recueil des actes des ducs de Normandie*, ed. by Fauroux, no. 95.

[11] Gauthiez, 'La Logique de l'espace urbain, formation et évolution', pp. 82–83, Le Maho, 'Rouen au haut Moyen Âge'; Gauthiez, 'La Forme des immeubles et le statut juridique des terrains', p. 268.

[12] Dudo of Saint-Quentin, *De moribus et actis primorum Normanniae ducum*, ed. by Lair, pp. 264, 225, 227.

[13] Rouen, Arch. dép. de la Seine-Maritime, fonds des Cordeliers, not catalogued. A mayor's family takes its name from the place at least in the late twelfth century. See Manon Six's paper in this volume.

[14] Gauthiez, 'Hypothèses sur la fortification de Rouen au onzième siècle', p. 61.

[15] The parish was then suppressed in June 1251 by Archbishop Eudes Rigaud.

held by William of Volpiano, reformer of the Church in Normandy, until his death in 1031, calls into question Robert of Torigni's assertion that Richard I (942–96) built the tower.[16] To the west, on the bank of the city ditch, the name of the 'vicus as Ancres' — Anchors street (from *ancre* = anchor) — mentioned in 1228, has been attributed to the fact that it may have been the place where the ducal ships anchored in the lower part of the ditch.[17]

The new castle, named the tower, was built by either Richard I or Richard II, at the south-east angle of the Roman city wall, facing the possible threat from France upriver.[18] Saint-Cande le Jeune, situated nearby, was established as a collegial church in 1028–33, under the patronage of the Bishop of Lisieux to serve the castle as 'dominica capellaria' (the chapel of the prince).[19] The exact form of the new castle is unknown. Unfortunately, the limited archaeological excavations in 1956 on the supposed tower site did not yield any valuable information. Its perimeter, enclosing 1.5 ha, can be drawn with some accuracy, thanks to later plans and thirteenth-century texts concerning its suppression,[20] but eleventh-century documents only mention the tower itself, the great hall, and the chapel. In addition, the form of the streets and plots to the south of the castle suggests an outer bailey along the Seine, where the duke's ships possibly departed and landed.

The rebuilding of the northern part of the city wall after its partial destruction in the mid-tenth century, along with a widening of the ditch to about 30 m, probably occurred in this context.[21] The urban structure of the south-

[16] Robert of Torigni, *Chronique suivie de divers opuscules historiques*, ed. by Delisle, I, 164.

[17] This hypothesis is reinforced by the fact that in 1027–35, the chief of the ducal fleet was Rabel of the Tancarville family, who possessed the Donjon and various rights in ports in the lower Seine and the Pays de Caux in the twelfth century: Le Maho, 'Recherches sur les origines de quelques églises de Rouen', p. 193.

[18] Although Jacques Le Maho is firmly pro a Richard I hypothesis: Le Maho, 'La "Tour de Rouen", palais du duc Richard Ier'.

[19] *Recueil des actes des ducs de Normandie*, ed. by Fauroux, no. 67.

[20] Dubois, 'Étude des remparts de Rouen antérieurs', p. 39; Lavallée, 'Procès-verbaux des séances', pp. 95, 110. Gauthiez, 'Hypothèses sur la fortification de Rouen au onzième siècle', pp. 63–64.

[21] This widening, clearly visible in the arrangement of plots and streets, has been determined through archaeological excavation. Halbout and Verlut, 'Tunnel Saint-Herbland'; Lecler and others, 'Espace du palais, 1991–93, Rouen', II, 137; I, Plan 9; Lecler and Maret, 'Rouen, lycée Camille Saint Saens', I. 1, 53. As regards the western side, the ditch widening occurred before the city wall extension. According to Jacques Le Maho, the gates and posterns, occupied by relics of saints, date from *c.* 1000: 'encore considérées au début du XIe siècle comme des éléments consti-

eastern part of the Roman *castrum* is largely due to the early tenth-century planned reorganization,[22] but the shape of the rue Épicerie, or 'vicus Veteri-Turris' in 1220–28 cannot be attributed to this development. It directly linked the main gate of the castle, the castle chapel of Saint-Romain, rebuilt in 1542 according to an otherwise unexplained orientation,[23] and the southern transept of the Romanesque cathedral, begun in 965–70 under Richard I and dedicated in 1063.[24] This arrangement suggests a planned symbolism in the layout of the two main buildings of the city, the tower and the cathedral. The Archbishop of Rouen from 989 was Richard II's brother, Robert, which reinforces this hypothesis. Moreover, an even more regular disposition linked the two other important ducal residences at Fécamp (990 at the latest) and Falaise (early eleventh century) with a church dedicated to the Trinity along a similar axis in a striking physical association of ecclesiastical and political power.[25]

A Bridge over the Seine

Thirteenth-century texts locate an 'old bridge' 150 m to the west of the twelfth-century bridge line. This bridge existed in *c.* 1025 and its role was decisive in the events of 1090 (the well-known revolt discussed elsewhere in this volume), but its date of construction is unknown. It replaced or duplicated a previous crossing, possibly a ford linking the rue de la Vicomté on the north bank and la Petite Chaussée to the south.[26] Its head on the right bank faced the porte Saint-Clément, in close association with the donjon, so it could have been built

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tutifs de l'appareil défensif de la ville' (Le Maho, 'Recherches sur les origines de quelques églises de Rouen', p. 201). The presence of churches dedicated to three of the evangelists outside the *castrum*, Saint-Jean to the west, Saint-Marc to the east (both existing in the eleventh century), Saint-Mathieu to the south, is an even more striking protective religious device: Gauthiez, 'La Logique de l'espace urbain, formation et évolution', p. 160.

[22] Gauthiez, 'La Ré-occupation planifiée de la Cité de Rouen'.

[23] Rouen, Arch. dép. de la Seine-Maritime, G 3485.

[24] Rouen, Arch. dép. de la Seine-Maritime, 14 H 18, no. 359; Wace, *Roman de Rou*, ed. by Holden, I, ll. 691–96; Lanfry, *La Cathédrale dans la cité romaine*; Le Maho, 'Grands travaux à la cathédrale de Rouen', suggests a *westwerk* was built after 975. This hypothesis discussed by Baylé, 'La Cathédrale romane', p. 191.

[25] Gauthiez, 'Verneuil-sur-Avre, Falaise, Pont-Audemer et Lisieux', I, 48; II, 39 for Falaise; Gauthiez, 'Fécamp et Louviers en Normandie', I, 277; II, 257 for Fécamp.

[26] 'Vicus veteri pontis': Paris, Arch. nat., S 5199, nos 36, 50. Some fourteenth-century texts mention the 'Vieux Pont': Dubosc, 'La Maison des Templiers de Rouen', p. 75. The potential ford was usable only at low tide, as the tidal range at Rouen is about 3 m.

under the direct control of the early ducal residence. On the left bank of the Seine, the bridge encouraged the emergence of a small settlement, *Rigeborc*, a name that could derive from *Ricardi burgus*, Richard's *burgus*,[27] and a place where ship building is later attested.[28]

The City Surroundings

In parallel to these urban transformations, the environment of the town changed rapidly in the eleventh century. All the rural settlements known in the Rouen *suburbium* appear in this period.[29] To the south, Émendreville is cited in 963 and the parish of Saint-Sever was probably created under Richard I. Quevilly appears in 1006–26. It was owned in the 1030s by Herluin, who founded and endowed the abbey of Bec-Hellouin with a large part of his estate; the other part passed into ducal hands. A ducal estate is known later at Quevilly, and, in 1063, Duke William created the priory of Notre-Dame du Pré (a dependency of Bec-Hellouin) on these lands. Further to the south-east, Sotteville was given to the cathedral in 1028–33. The endowment of the numerous abbeys and priories (re)founded during the eleventh century is a good source of information for the earlier period. To the west, Yonville and Saint-Gervais were given to the abbey of Fécamp in 1024 and 1035–40. To the east, Saint-Paul is mentioned in 1035 when it was given to the abbey of Montivilliers, and Martainville in 1053. Eauplet, a name of probable Scandinavian origin, appears in 1037–55.[30] The priory of Saint-Michel is also mentioned in 1025–26, close to the abbey of La Trinité-du-Mont, later Sainte-Catherine du Mont. A causeway was probably built across the Aubette valley at this time in order to facilitate communication with the eastern surroundings. It certainly existed in 1053 when the 'pons Hunfridi' (Humfrey's bridge) crossing the small river is mentioned. These pro-

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[27] The word *burgus* in eleventh- and twelfth-century Normandy often had the meaning of planned development along one or several streets: Gauthiez, 'L'Urbanisme en Normandie au Moyen Âge', pp. 415–16.

[28] Rouen, Arch. dép. de la Seine-Maritime, 20 H 6, 1237; Rouen, Arch. dép. de la Seine-Maritime, 20 H 1, late twelfth century. There was also a Port-Richard at Quevilly: Le Maho, 'Aux origines du "Grand-Rouen"', p. 179. Le Maho discusses the position of this bridge in Le Maho, 'Rouen à l'époque des incursions vikings', p. 179.

[29] Gauthiez, 'La Logique de l'espace urbain, formation et évolution', pp. 153–64; Le Maho, 'Aux origines du "Grand-Rouen"', pp. 177–93.

[30] 'Villa dicta Merdeplud', probably from the Old Norse form *floth*, meaning port, like in Harfleur or Honfleur on the lower Seine: *Recueil des actes des ducs de Normandie*, ed. by Fauroux, no. 135.
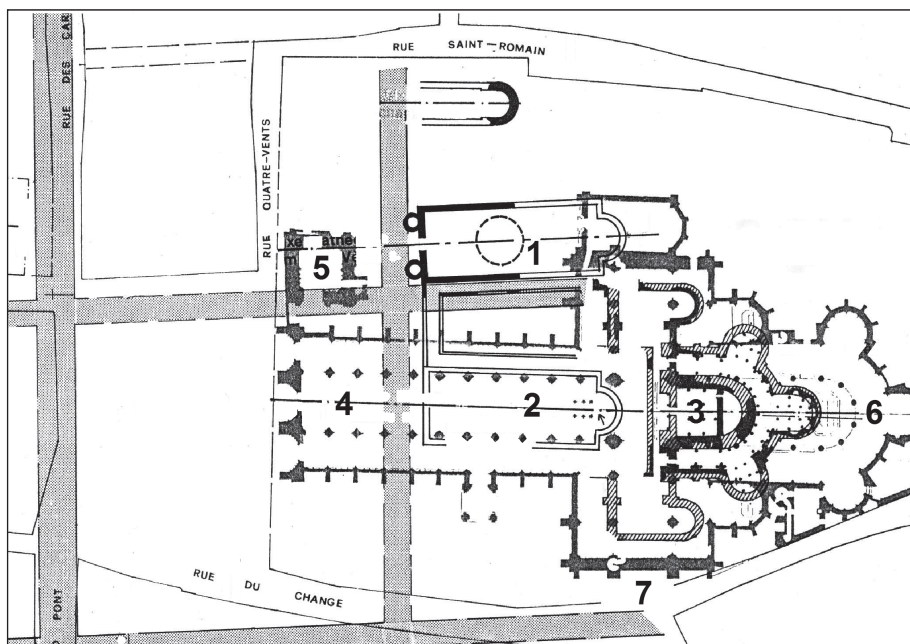
Figure 1. Rebuilding of the cathedral on the site of the late Roman double cathedral.
Roman streets are shown in grey. (From Gauthiez, 'La Ré-occupation planifiée de la Cité de Rouen',
p. 16, modified and reproduced with permission of Maney Publishing, <http://www.maney.co.uk>.)
(1) Late Roman basilicas (*c.* 400), (2) south late Roman basilica (*c.* 400), (3) Romanesque choir
and transept dedicated in 1063, (4) nave and west façade mid- to late twelfth century,
(5) Saint-Romain tower, north of the nave, 1140s–60s, (6) 1220s choir, (7) south transept, 1300s.

jects favoured the development of the Malpalu suburb along the east city ditch,
which was recorded in 1090. Water mills multiplied along the Aubette and
Robec Rivers: eight are mentioned in 1026 and eleven in 1033.[31]

The rural landscape of Rouen included vineyards, located mainly on the slopes
to the north, in the Saint-Patrice area, near the rue Beauvoisine, in the vicinity of
the later parish of Saint-Nicaise, and on the hill where the priory of Saint-Michel
and the abbey of La Trinité-du-Mont were located. Large ducal forests topped
the surrounding plateaus: Roumare to the west, Rouvray to the south, and Forêt
Verte to the north (the latter owned by the abbey of Saint-Ouen). Several fairs
were established on open spaces, often cemeteries, around the city: for example,
at Saint-Gervais, at Le Pré, probably at Saint-Ouen, and, at Saint-Laurent, the
famous fair of 'Pardon Saint-Romain'.

[31] Robec, 'Rodobeccus', is also a Scandinavian place name meaning the river of Rouen.

Figure 2.
The remaining transept
apse of the Romanesque
church of Saint-Ouen,
built before 1126
(© B. Gauthiez 2010).

The Architectural Landscape

The context of urbanization and the creation of numerous new institutions were very favourable to the development of architecture. The reign of William II (1035–87), which began in difficult circumstances, produced as much impressive architecture as those of his predecessors Richard I and Richard II who enlarged the cathedral, rebuilt the city wall, and constructed the tower. Each new (re)foundation implied the building of new churches, cloisters, and various other buildings. Rouen was a large construction site from the late tenth century to the death of William in 1087.[32] The first major building enterprises

[32] For example the church of Saint-Lô, where a tower was built between 989 and 1025: Le Maho, 'Recherches sur les origines de quelques églises de Rouen', p. 150; Halbout and Verlut,
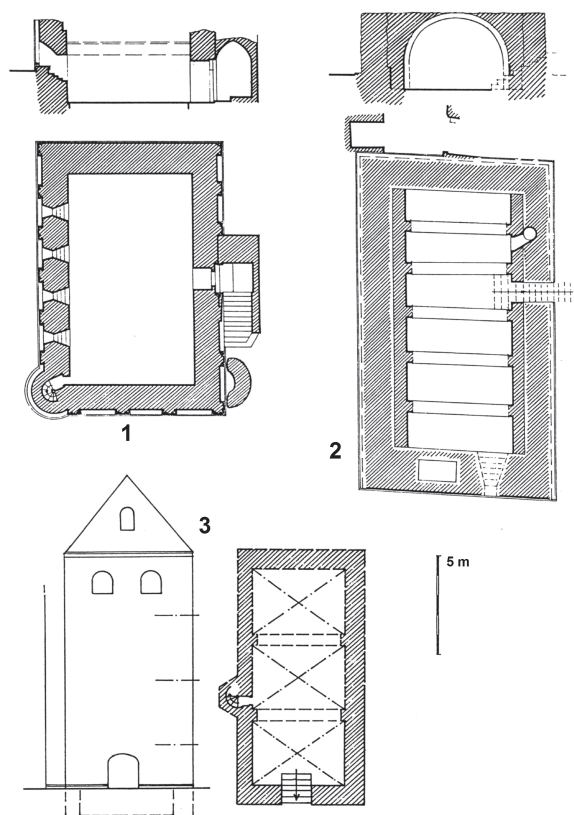
Figure 3.
Plans of urban cellared manors (or first-floor halls) inhabited by magnates and great burgesses. (From Gauthiez, 'Les Maisons de Rouen', p. 136; reproduced with permission.) (1) Plan and section of the Monument Juif, typologically a house but probably used as a school, *c*. 1100. The porch was added later. (2) Plan and section of the cellar of the house discovered between the rues aux Juifs and du Gros-Horloge, maybe pertaining to the Jew Bonnevie, *c*. 1100, vaulted *c*. 1150 and enlarged in the early fourteenth century. (3) Plan and elevation of a house in rue Fontenelle, mid-twelfth century, demolished.

were the tower and the cathedral, followed by the abbeys of Saint-Amand (created in 1042, dedicated in 1070), and Trinité-du-Mont (founded in 1030 with the church begun in 1077), both established by *Vicomte* Goscelin of Arques and his wife Emmeline. Works are known at the cathedral cloister and at the archbishop's palace where one can still visit a Romanesque cellar. The remains of these magnificent buildings are somewhat vestigial, which makes it impossible to establish their undoubtedly important place and role in the history of Romanesque architecture (Figure 1). Of the magnificent abbey church of Saint-Ouen, begun in 1046 by Abbot Nicholas, Duke Richard I's son, and dedicated in 1126, only one apse is still standing (Figure 2). Elements of the cathedral crypt, the crypt at Saint-Gervais, and a good part of the priory church of Saint-Paul still survive in situ.

'Tunnel Saint-Herbland', p. 52.

The houses in the city were generally made of wood, single-storeyed, and probably set back from the streets,[33] but stone and houses with first floors appear at the end of the eleventh century in private buildings. The most conspicuous ones probably include the 'Monument Juif', excavated in 1976, which is typologically a house and obviously the residence of an important or rich personage. It has also been interpreted as a yeshiva — a school — placed in the middle of the Jewish quarter. The remains of another large house were uncovered between the rue du Gros-Horloge and rue aux Juifs (Figure 3).[34] Such houses were more or less in the middle of large plots, surrounded by undeveloped areas and similar to rural manors. Information on the wooden houses is derived only from archaeology and thus gives no clues as to the appearance of street fronts and elevations.

Rouen between 1050 and 1204

This period marked Rouen's political and economic apogee. The city reached its maximum size for the Anglo-Norman era and was notably larger than Paris, its French counterpart.[35]

City Wall and Urban Structure

The city wall was probably extended twice. The first extension, visible in the plot arrangements, occurred after 1067 when the churches of Sainte-Croix and Saint-Sauveur were still recorded as being 'extra muros', but before 1090 (Map 1). Different elements indicate the transformations induced by the new wall. The previous western city ditch was developed as new streets, and the *Wanteria* (glove-makers' area) was relocated to the north of the *castrum* where the ditch was still usable. The western *castrum* ditch had been used as a waste disposal area for the porte Gros-Horloge butchery.[36] The function of this new wall was to protect the urban extension to the west in the early eleventh century,

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[33] Le Maho, 'Regard archéologique sur l'habitat rouennais', p. 179.

[34] Halbout-Bertin, 'Le Monument Juif d'époque romane'.

[35] Gauthiez, 'Paris, un Rouen capétien?'.

[36] Gauthiez, 'Hypothèses sur la fortification de Rouen au onzième siècle', pp. 70–76. The appearance of the church of Saint-André aux Fèvres in the late eleventh or early twelfth century as a hypothetical replacement for a gate chapel could be due to the destruction of the gate: Le Maho, 'Recherches sur les origines de quelques églises de Rouen', pp. 178–84.
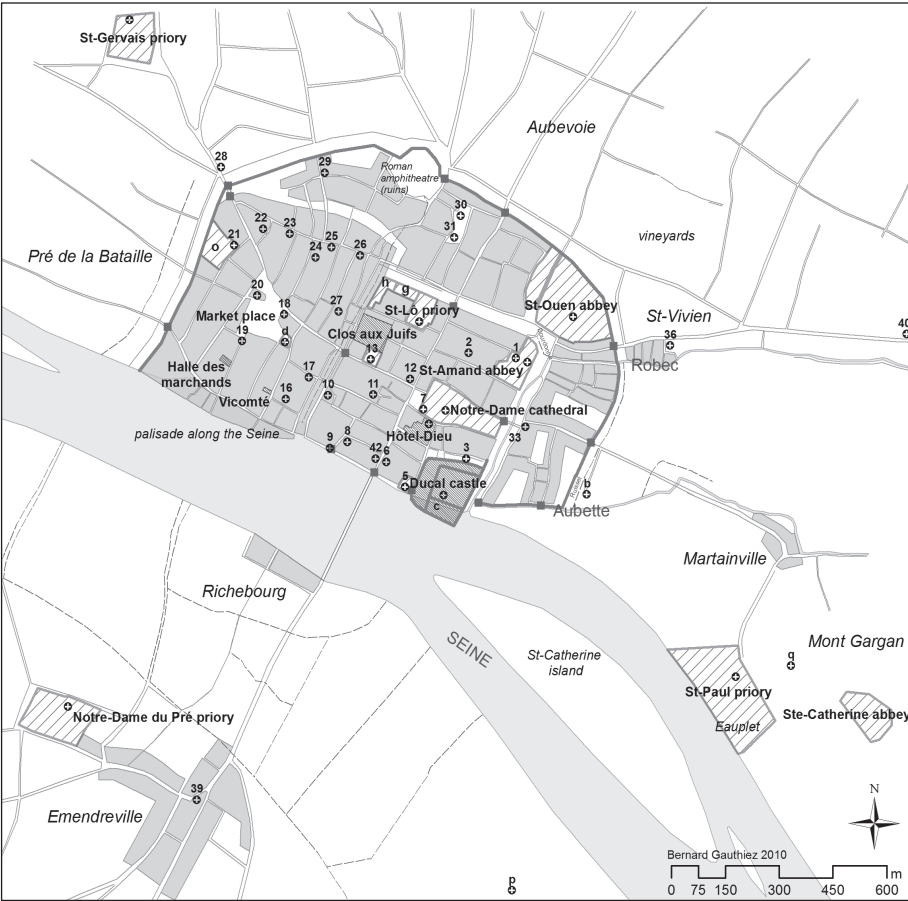
Map 2. Hypothetical reconstruction of the plan of Rouen at the end of the twelfth century (© B. Gauthiez).

Parishes: (1) Saint-Amand, (2) Saint-Nicolas, (3) Saint-Denis, (5) Saint-Cande (le Vieux), (6) Saint-Martin (du Pont), (7) Saint-Étienne, (8) Saint-Étienne (des Tonneliers), (9) Saint-Clément, (10) Saint-Pierre (du Châtel), (11) Saint-Cande (le Jeune), (12) Saint-Herbland, (13) Notre-Dame (de la Ronde), (16) Saint-Vincent, (17) Saint-André (hors la ville), (18) Saint-Michel, (19) Saint-Eloi, (20) Saint-Sauveur, (21) Saint-Pierre (le Portier), (22) Saint-Vigor, (23) Sainte-Marie (la Petite), (24) Sainte-Croix, (25) Saint-Pierre, (26) Saint-Martin (sur Renelle), (27) Saint-Jean, (28) Saint-André (aux Fèvres), (29) Saint-Patrice, (30) Saint-Godard, (31) Saint-Laurent, (36) Saint-Vivien, (39) Saint-Sever, (40) Saint-Hilaire.

Other religious buildings: (42) Saint-Martin (hospital), (b) Saint-Marc, (c) castle chapel of Saint-Romain, (d) collège de Saint-Sepulcre, (g) Valmont abbey manor, (h) Jumièges abbey manor, (n) chapel of Saint-Yves, (o) Fécamp abbey manor, (p) Grandmont priory (off the map), (q) chapel of Saint-Michel.

doubling the walled area.[37] It also sheltered the port and a shipyard located at the corner formed by the Seine and the wall that possibly existed at that time.[38] Duke William could have used this shipyard to build some of the ships used in the invasion of England in 1066. He certainly did not neglect Rouen, contrary to the arguments of, for example, Musset,[39] as the new city wall may have been built at the same time as the wall at Caen.[40] The short lifespan of this wall may explain why it is hard to trace and still awaits confirmation of its existence through excavation.

The second extension of the city wall is well known in topography and written records. It existed in 1199, and probably before Rouen was besieged by the French kings Louis VI in 1174 and Philip Augustus in 1193 (Map 2). A more precise date is suggested by King Henry II's grant to the abbey of Beaubec in 1156–73 of the right to insert a gate in the earlier wall in order to access the old ditch, and of the ditch itself, about 400 m long, to accommodate the poor of the town.[41] The rue des Fossés-Louis-VIII was soon established but not developed until a few decades later according to archaeological evidence. The ditch was reused for various functions, and stone houses soon fronted the rue Ganterie.[42] The new wall protected about 35 ha more than the previous walled circuit of about 85 ha. The area between William the Conqueror's probable wall and this one was either developed after its creation or, more probably, before it.

The wall is regular in shape, describing something like an ideal semi-circular space, suggesting that it was established on largely unoccupied terrain and that it was intended to protect areas in order to facilitate their urbanization. The wall's purpose was to reinforce the political strength of the city through increasing its size and population, and consequently its tax revenue. The parish

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[37] Pitte has doubted the possibility of this wall from an excavation of the Porte-aux-rats, but the hypothesized wall runs just to the north of the archaeological site, so could not be found: Pitte, 'Quelques apports récents de l'archéologie à la connaissance', p. 71. Another layout of a wall was proposed by Le Maho, without explanation: Le Maho, 'Coup d'œil sur la ville de Rouen', p. 174.

[38] Rouen, BM, Tiroir 324, 1283.

[39] Musset, 'Rouen au temps des Francs et sous les ducs', p. 44.

[40] De Boüard, *Le Château de Caen*, pp. 10–11.

[41] Cailleux, 'Un point de l'histoire des enceintes rouennaises'. The exact length is 1228 feet (2 *stadia* and 28 feet) or 399 m.

[42] Halbout and Verlut, 'Tunnel Saint-Herbland', p. 52; Lecler and others, 'Espace du palais, 1991–93, Rouen', i, 140, 143. Carel, 'Rapport de fouille, chantier Delacroix-Beaux-Arts', pp. 79, 84, 89.

of Saint-Patrice is mentioned in 1189–94. Its patron was the abbey of Cerisy founded by Duke Robert I, and it was probably laid out on ducal vineyards given to the abbey in 1032. The parish of Saint-Maclou, first mentioned in 1201–03, includes the new developments in the Sac area and that of the rues des Crottes and Notre-Dame. The parish of Saint-Godard was possibly also developed at that time along a street parallel to the new city limit.[43] The area between the rue Beauvoisine and the abbey of Saint-Ouen, where a very large tenement of Peter of Gournay was located,[44] was similarly developed before 1200. This area was also partly occupied by an extension of Saint-Ouen's precinct that probably compensated for its reduction by the new wall to the northeast where, in the 1970s, a previous abbey ditch was discovered across the rue de l'Amitié lying outside of the new enclosed area.[45] The new wall, with a 30 m wide ditch, included at least three new large parishes. These parishes were necessary either because of new developments (Saint-Patrice, Saint-Godard) or because of existing suburbs becoming dense urban areas (Saint-Maclou).

The commune, in existence from the 1130s under King Henry I, provided the probable impetus behind the twelfth-century extension of the city wall. King Henry II confirmed the liberties of Rouen in 1150–51 and gave a new communal constitution to its citizens — the *Établissements* — in *c.* 1170 or earlier.[46] The renewal of town statutes seems to have been a common context for the building of new walls in the twelfth century when several Norman towns, for example Eu, Dieppe, and Les Andelys, became communes. According to Gerald of Wales, King Henry II favoured the urban centres, granting city statutes to many other towns in Angevin France. Communes were established in all major towns except Lisieux, which had a special liberty (*liberta specialis*) by 1204. The *Établissements* of Rouen were the model for the vast majority of these towns.[47]

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[43] Gauthiez, 'La Logique de l'espace urbain, formation et évolution', pp. 183–97. The rue de l'Ecureuil could have been developed at that time: Halbout and Verlut, 'Tunnel Saint-Herbland', p. 52.

[44] The name is rather common; nothing has been found about the man.

[45] Archaeological evidence dates the extension of the abbey close to the west to the twelfth century; this led to the inclusion in the close of a street running from the porte Saint-Leonard to the north and the rue Maulévrier: Maret, 'Rouen (76), place du Général-de-Gaule', pp. 21, 23, 77; Gauthiez, 'La Logique de l'espace urbain, formation et évolution', pp. 67–68.

[46] Giry, *Les Établissements de Rouen*.

[47] Power, 'Angevin Normandy'. On Lisieux, see Gauthiez, 'Verneuil-sur-Avre, Falaise, Pont-Audemer et Lisieux', I, 87.
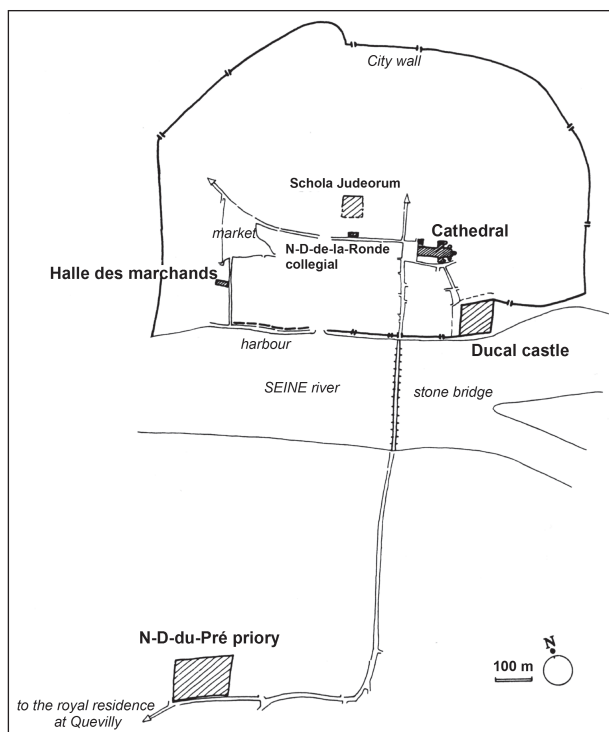
Map 3.
Location of the power centres in Rouen in the late twelfth century. (From Gauthiez, 'Paris, un Rouen capétien?', p. 128; reproduced with permission.)

Rouen as a 'Capital' City before the French Conquest (Map 3)

Rouen was clearly a thriving city during the twelfth century. The building of the tower of Saint-Romain in the 1140s at the north of the cathedral façade facing the rue du Gros-Horloge, perhaps indicates the intention of the cathedral chapter to be a visible political power within the cityscape and, possibly, to balance the growing importance of the commune (Figure 4).[48] A little earlier, the castle was reinforced in 1123 by Henry I with a new precinct wall and turrets.[49]

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[48] Le Maho is probably right, but Lindy Grant dates it to the 1160s in Grant, 'Rouen Cathedral', p. 62. A close examination in the field suggests that the tower base could have indeed been built in the 1140s, and the upper levels in the following decades. The detail of the lower rounded-arched windows at the rear of the building bears some resemblance to those in the surviving Romanesque apse at Saint-Ouen, which probably date from before 1126, and to the lower windows of the choir at the abbey of Saint-Georges de Boscherville. The construction clearly occurred in at least two main phases and displays a gradual change in style.

[49] Gauthiez, 'La Logique de l'espace urbain, formation et évolution', p. 127. We also note, at

Figure 4.
East façade of the Saint-Romain
tower, built by the chapter at the
north of the cathedral façade.
Several building campaigns
can be identified, 1140s–1160s
(© B. Gauthiez 2010).

In the second half of the century, every source of power in the city (ecclesiastical, royal, and civic) was identified by its architectural achievements, some of which still survive today. The cathedral was largely rebuilt in the mid- to late twelfth century (elements still survive), the merchants' hall was extended in 1192 (a possible lateral wall remains), and the king built a new residence at Quevilly in the late 1150s (the chapel is still extant), which was partly transformed into a leper hospital (Salle-aux-Puelles) in 1185–88.[50]

In addition, the more powerful social groups gained great wealth, allowing people to build new stone houses, some of which are still in existence. The rich burgesses, particularly the mayoral families, were located principally in the parish of Saint-Éloi near the main harbour area on the banks of the Seine, and to a lesser extent in the parishes of Saint-Cande le Vieux, Notre-Dame de la Ronde,

the base of the north side of the tower, two small octagonal columns in Tournai stone. These are the remains of a door and are probably an element of the eleventh-century cloister.

[50] Grant, 'Rouen Cathedral', p. 61; Grant, 'Le Patronage architectural d'Henry II'.

and Saint-Martin du Pont.[51] Rouen served as a 'capital' city for an immense territory extending from northern England to the Pyrenees.[52] The five suffragan bishops of Normandy (Bayeux, Évreux, Lisieux, Sées, Avranches), the archbishops of York and Canterbury, and many abbeys, including Bury St Edmunds, had residences in the city, especially around the royal castle. Many Anglo-Norman magnates had a house in Rouen, for example William of Mandeville, Count of Essex, and Robert, Count of Leicester. These residences were grouped mainly in the parish of Notre-Dame de la Ronde, whose royal collegial church possibly played a central role in financial matters. Many English people lived in Rouen and also a few Christian Arabs like Laurence Salehadin.[53] The Jewish community played an important role in Normandy, and the Jews were deeply involved in the financial affairs of the king, magnates, and ecclesiastical institutions. The proximity of the Jewish area (the Clos), along the rue aux Juifs between the rues du Gros-Horloge and Saint-Lô, and the parish of Notre-Dame de la Ronde is not merely fortuitous but suggests deliberate planning.[54]

The location of different economic and socio-politically powerful groups shows how the centre of Rouen was structured along an axis linking the port, the merchants' hall, the place du Vieux-Marché, and the rue du Gros-Horloge, with Notre-Dame de la Ronde, the Jewish quarter, the cathedral, and the royal tower. There was no continuous street along the Seine. This organization along an east-west axis, dominated by the cathedral tower of Saint-Romain, was completed by the reinforcement of a north-south axis, which crossed the cathedral square, with the construction of a new bridge across the Seine. This bridge, made of stone and 330 m long, was financed by the Empress Matilda before her death in 1167. The new bridge, linking the two sides of the river, probably led to a new development of 5 ha to the south of the church of Saint-Sever (on the left bank) according to a very regular plan, possibly surrounded by a fence to the south and east.[55]

It is difficult to estimate the population of Rouen at its apogee during the Angevin period. The *monnéage* tax amount gives around four hundred thousand households in the whole of Normandy, a figure that declined steeply after-

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[51] For a list of mayors, see Manon Six's paper in this volume. We may also add Jean Bordet in 1247 (Rouen, Arch. dép. de la Seine-Maritime, G 4332).

[52] Bates, 'Rouen from 900 to 1204'.

[53] Gauthiez, 'Paris, un Rouen capétien?', pp. 119–29.

[54] Golb, *Les Juifs de Rouen au Moyen Âge*.

[55] Gauthiez, 'La Logique de l'espace urbain, formation et évolution', pp. 197–202.

wards, but is probably under the maximum of the 1180s. The farm of Rouen had already begun to fall, from 4000 *livres* in 1180 to 3000 in 1195. This is when the majority of the towns in Normandy reached their largest size, fossilized in many cases by the walls or palisades erected as protection against the French armies. The densely urbanized area covered more than 100 ha, which could correspond to a population of twenty-five to thirty thousand inhabitants.

A New Status and New Urban Functions: The Wool Industry and Later Developments, 1204–1330 (Map 4)

A Difficult Transition for a Downgraded City

The French annexation of Rouen in 1204 was followed by a period of spatial stasis: no modifications are documented until the 1210s. The city had been deeply affected by the duration and severity of the war of attrition led by Philip Augustus, which lasted more than ten years. Rouen's economy was also thoroughly depleted by the reduction of cross-Channel commerce and interdependence. The city farm, 4000 *livres* in 1180, fell to 1755 *livres* in 1215. The population also probably declined, as it did in many towns in Normandy. According to the *monnéage* tax amounts, the duchy lost more than 20 per cent of its inhabitants between 1198 and 1215 and a further 4 per cent between 1215 and 1221, which indicates a loss of about one hundred thousand households in two decades.[56] Why the population declined is not clear. The effects of the war were certainly great in eastern Normandy and could explain some demographic transfer at least at aristocratic level to western Normandy, especially Caen, and to England. But the main explanation is probably simpler. The insecurity and the economical difficulties caused by the near cessation of the trans-Channel exchanges and to the war led to a decline in situ. No mass emigration seems to have occurred, either to England or to France.

The Norman tower was still in use in 1210 as the seat of the royal officer in Rouen. Its tenement was granted in 1216, but important parts of the old

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[56] On the farm in 1180, see *Magni rotuli scaccarii Normanniae sub regibus Angliae*, ed. by Léchaudé-d'Anisy and Charma, I, 1–33 and II, pp. xxix–xxx; for 1215, see BnF, MS lat. 2665. The population is calculated from the monnéage tax of one solidus per household: for 1198, *Magni rotuli scaccarii Normanniae sub regibus Angliae*, ed. by Léchaudé-d'Anisy and Charma, II, 1–79; for 1215, BnF, MS lat. 2665; for 1221, Dubois, 'L'Essor médiéval', p. 242. For an overview of the situation in Normandy, see Gauthiez, 'The Evolution of Towns in Normandy'.
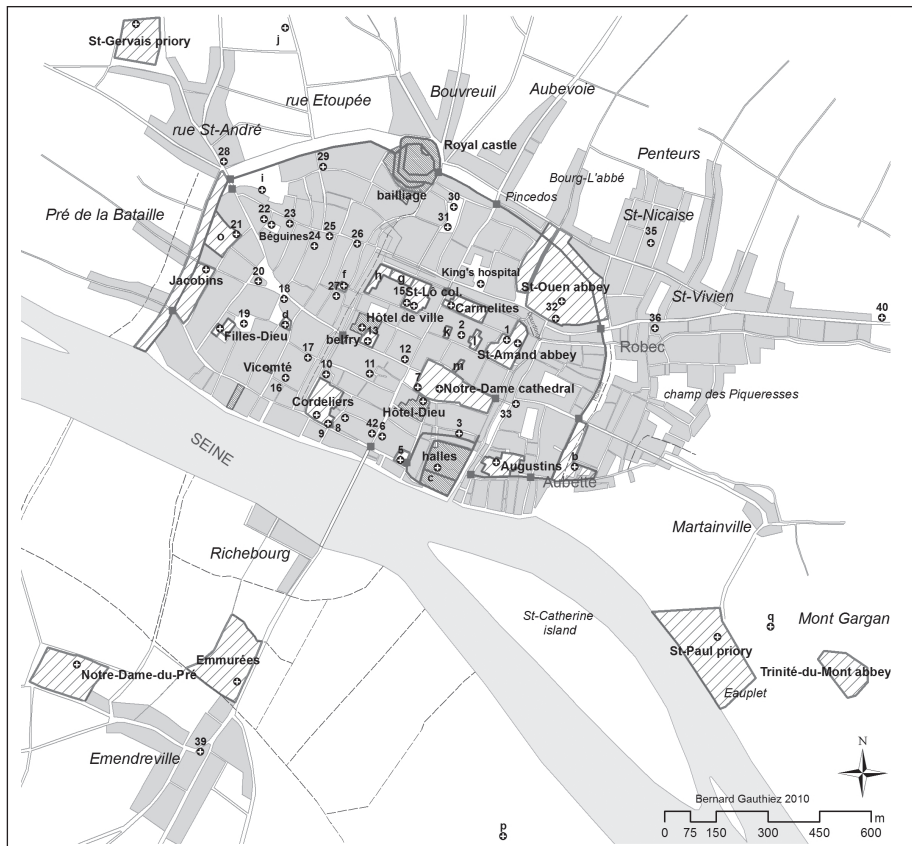
Map 4. Hypothetical reconstruction of the plan of Rouen *c.* 1330 at its apogee, before the mid-fourteenth-century crisis (© B. Gauthiez).

Parishes: (1) Saint-Amand, (2) Saint-Nicolas, (3) Saint-Denis, (5) Saint-Cande (le Vieux), (6) Saint-Martin (du Pont), (7) Saint-Étienne, (8) Saint-Étienne (des Tonneliers), (9) Saint-Clément, (10) Saint-Pierre (du Châtel), (11) Saint-Cande (le Jeune), (12) Saint-Herbland, (13) Notre-Dame (de la Ronde), (15) Saint-Lô, (16) Saint-Vincent, (17) Saint-André (hors la ville), (18) Saint-Michel, (19) Saint-Eloi, (20) Saint-Sauveur, (21) Saint-Pierre (le Portier), (22) Saint-Vigor, (23) Sainte-Marie (la Petite), (24) Sainte-Croix, (25) Saint-Pierre, (26) Saint-Martin (sur Renelle), (27) Saint-Jean, (28) Saint-André (aux Fèvres), (29) Saint-Patrice, (30) Saint-Godard, (31) Saint-Laurent, (32) Sainte-Croix-Saint-Ouen, (33) Saint-Maclou, (35) Saint-Nicaise, (36) Saint-Vivien, (39) Saint-Sever, (40) Saint-Hilaire (off the map).

Other religious buildings: (42) Saint-Martin (hospital), (b) Saint-Marc, (c) castle chapel of Saint-Romain, (d) college of Saint-Sepulcre, (f) Antonins' hospital, (g) Valmont abbey manor, (h) Jumièges abbey manor, (i) college of Bons Enfants, (j) chapel of Saint-Maur, (k) college of Darnetal, (l) college of Pope Clement V, (m) collège de Saint-Esprit, (n) chapel of Saint-Yves, (o) Fécamp abbey manor, (p) Grandmont priory (off the map), (q) chapel of Saint-Michel, (r) chapel of Saint-Mathieu.

Figure 5.
The Donjon, last standing tower of
Philip Augustus's castle, restored in
the nineteenth century
(© B. Gauthiez 2010).

castle were still standing in 1240.[57] The only new construction for twenty years
after 1204 was the building of a new castle (the castle of Bouvreuil) by Philip
Augustus to the north of the city on the remains of the Roman amphitheatre,[58]
occupying about 1 ha. Its main tower, the Donjon (not to be confused with the
ducal one) is still standing (Figure 5). Its form was reassessed in 1987 thanks
to new archaeological excavations (Figure 6).[59] Philip Augustus wanted to
develop Paris and acted to stop the development of the main cities in the ter-
ritories conquered during his reign: Rouen, Reims, Chartres, Angers, and oth-
ers. The only exception to Philip's stance was the authorization given to the
abbey of Saint-Ouen to build houses to the north-east, beyond the city ditch
bordering its precinct, in 1220.[60] In the same year, the King sold the Earl of

[57] Gauthiez, 'Hypothèses sur la fortification de Rouen au onzième siècle', p. 68.

[58] Until this period buildings were often founded on Roman remains, and the castle is prob-
ably the last construction to reuse Roman standing structures.

[59] Pitte and Gauthiez, *Le Château de Philippe Auguste*.

[60] Rouen, Arch. dép. de la Seine-Maritime, 14 H 179. The archaeological data confirm the
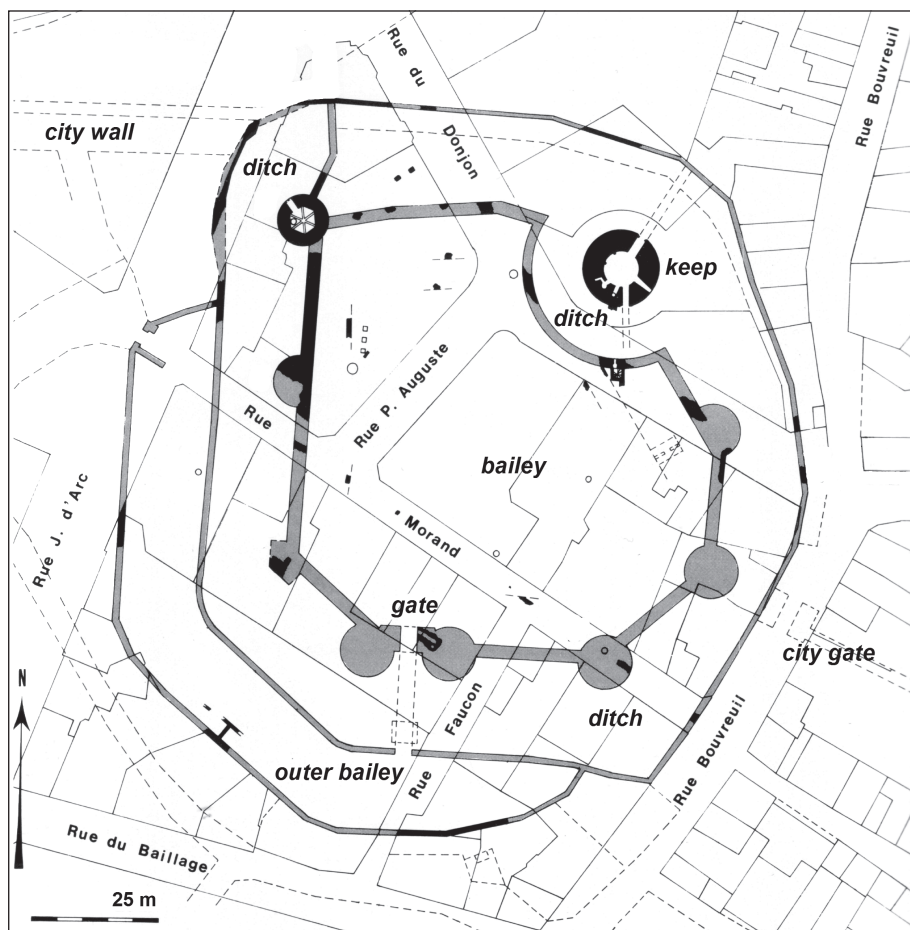
Figure 6. Plan of Philip Augustus's castle of Bouvreuil, built after 1210.
(From Pitte and Gauthiez, *Le Château de Philippe Auguste*, plan 11.)

Leicester's fief near the Gros-Horloge gate to the commune. A new city hall was only erected nearby in 1352, after new tenements had been bought up, notably the house of the Lallemand family to the north of the gate (Figures 7 and 8). A belfry was built beside the porte Gros-Horloge (the extant belfry tower dates from rebuilding in 1382 after the urban rebellion of the Harelle) and some new

occupation: Lotti, 'Rouen — rue Bourg-L'Abbé', p. 96. Gauthiez, 'La Logique de l'espace urbain, formation et évolution', p. 273.
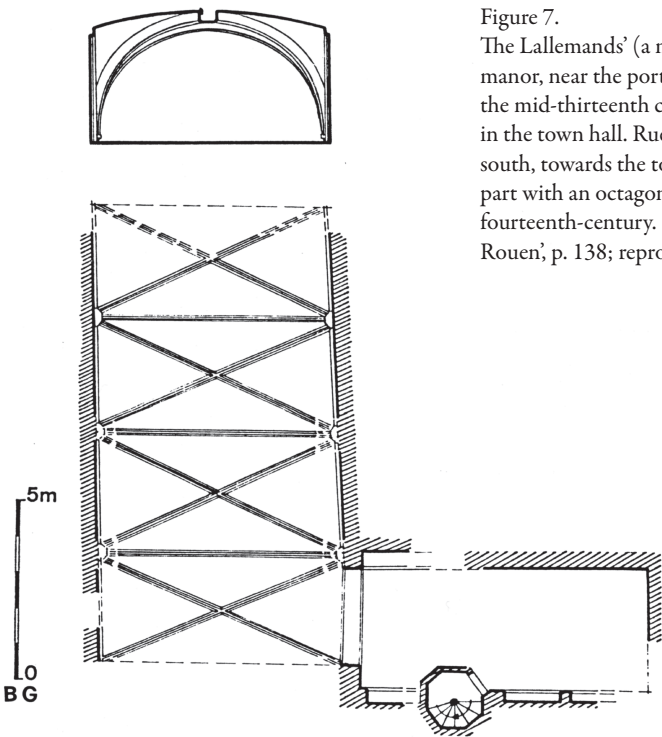
Figure 7.
The Lallemands' (a mayoral family) urban manor, near the porte Gros-Horloge, built in the mid-thirteenth century and later included in the town hall. Rue du Gros-Horloge is to the south, towards the top of the figure. The eastern part with an octagonal staircase is probably fourteenth-century. (Gauthiez, 'Les Maisons de Rouen', p. 138; reproduced with permission.)

Figure 8.
Detail of the Lallemands' house, cellar level, now a beauty shop (© B. Gauthiez 2010).

buildings were constructed on a part of the Clos of the Jews acquired by the commune after 1306 when they were expelled from France. The Lallemand house was incorporated in the new town hall and its cellars still exist.

Recovery: The Wool Industry and the Role of the Abbey of Saint-Ouen

In reaction to the precarious economic situation of the city, Philip Augustus's son, Louis VIII, adopted a very different policy that boosted the development of Rouen. Shortly after his coronation in January 1224, he extended the rights of the commune to the quarters included within the twelfth-century wall.[61] In May 1224, decisions were made with important consequences for urbanization.[62] First, the fiefdom of the old ditches was granted to the commune, which sold it rapidly, so that the ditches appear to be completely developed before the 1250s. The rue des Fossés-Louis-VIII (previously the rue de l'Aumône)[63] was in 1254 lined with 120 terraced houses built as almshouses for the poor of Rouen by the bailiff Étienne de la Porte a few years earlier, following a grant of Henry II after 1156 referred to above (Map 5). Some of these houses, which stood about 3.2 m wide, 1 storey high, and with a gable roof, were still standing in the early twentieth century and were photographed by Cdt Quenedey.[64] Second, Louis authorized the burgesses to widen the quays along the Seine. Plot arrangements and archaeological data in this area, between the shipyard to the west and the tower to the east, suggest several phases in the transformation and development of the city. The western part of the river bank (from the shipyard to the Donjon) along the rue des Charrettes, known as 'via supra Ripam', linked to the market place, the merchants' hall, and the majority of the great burgess residences, was the heart of the harbour activities at Rouen. The quays were built on land progressively reclaimed from the water and already partly built up, comprising wharfs projecting into deeper waters and narrow expanses of stagnant water used for waste disposal or as cesspools, according to a process very similar to the development of the Thames river bank at London.[65]

The regular layout of the area further to the east, along the old Roman city wall, between what was probably the southern outer bailey of the castle and the Donjon is probably due to a planned development that occurred in that period. To the east of the castle and before 1261, the Hôtel-Dieu helped develop an area

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[61] Rouen, BM, MS Reg. U1, fols 16–18. This area was probably owned by the abbey before the wall was built.

[62] Rouen, BM, Tiroir 63, *vidimus* of 1279.

[63] *Documents concernant les pauvres de Rouen*, ed. by Panel, i, p. xxiii.

[64] Rouen, Arch. dép. de la Seine-Maritime, 13 Fi Rouen 108. Some present-day houses still probably preserve thirteenth-century elements.

[65] Guillot, Calderoni, and Le Cain, 'L'Urbanisation d'un espace au sud-est de Rouen'.
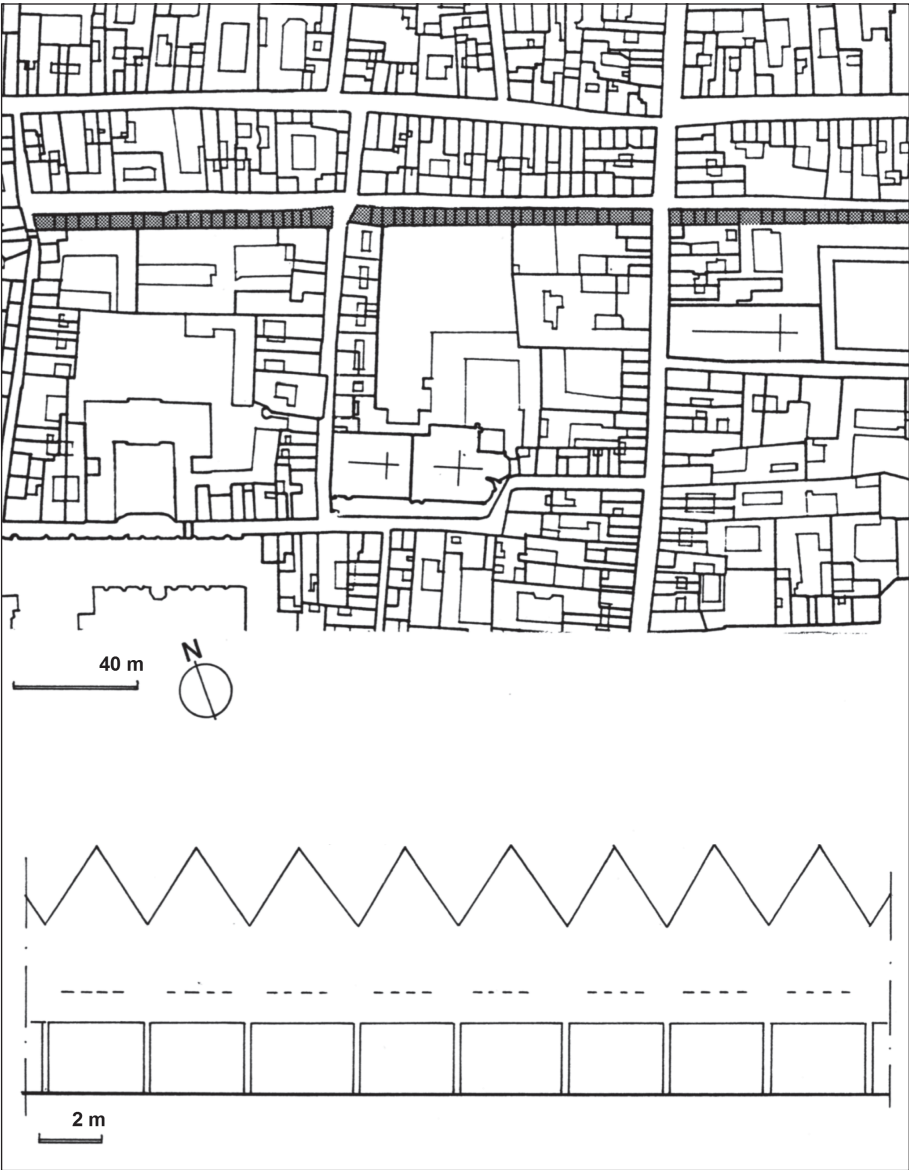
Map 5. 120 houses built *c.* 1250 in the city ditch (rue des Fossés-Louis-VIII)
by bailiff Étienne de la Porte for the poor of Rouen (location plan and façade sketch).
The area was granted by King Henry II. (From Gauthiez, 'La Forme des immeubles
et le statut juridique des terrains', p. 279; reproduced with permission.)

Map 6.
Development of Saint-Nicaise parish
by Saint-Ouen abbey, 1240, located
in a former vineyard. The plan shows
the regular layout and the plots
Robert de Grandmont had acquired.
(From Gauthiez, 'Le Quartier Saint-
Nicaise à Rouen', p. 38; reproduced
with permission.)
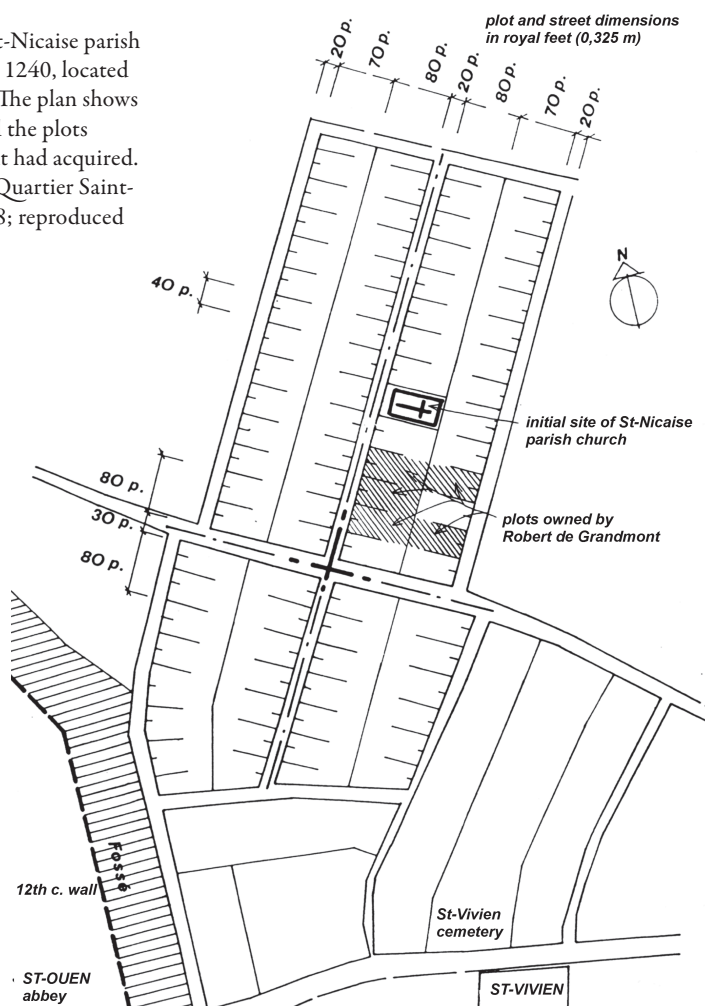
between the Aubette and the Seine, which had probably been an earlier ceme-
tery. This area, between the rues des Augustins and Malpalu and the Seine, was
made of narrow streets perpendicular to the river bank.[66] In the years following
1224, an embankment was begun along the Seine, starting with *fondamentum*
(quay) between the shipyard and the old city ditch. It was extended eastwards
as far as the old tower after 1283, when the quays for the ships of Saint-Ouen

[66] Gauthiez, 'La Logique de l'espace urbain, formation et évolution', pp. 214–22, 242.

and the quay where millstones were unloaded were given by the King to the commune.[67] The King then granted the western third of the tower area to the commune, which then sold it for development, probably immediately.

The fourth clause of the 1224 grant provided the burgesses with as much earth for dyers and fullers as needed from the royal Roumare forest or elsewhere from royal land in the *bailliage*. The earth was stored in a section of the city ditch to the north-east, between the Porte Saint-Ouen and the Robec River, an area also given by King Philippe III to the commune in 1283. It was close to the lepers' brothel (*bordellum leprosorum*), or, possibly, hostel, given by the King in the same grant, also located in the ditch to the north side of the gate. This decision is probably only one aspect of a more general royal policy encouraging the wool industry. As a consequence, new built-up areas intended for cloth workers and *penteurs*, that is, cloth-hanging devices, spread rapidly, mainly to the north and east. To the north, vineyards gave way to a 'vicus Pentoriorum' mentioned in 1228, parallel to the rue Beauvoisine. It was a regular ribbon of narrow plots, measuring more or less 6.5 m in width and 32 m in length. In 1236, the streets nearby were called 'street that goes through the *penteurs*' and up to the *penteurs*' ditch' (rue du Cordier), and in 1241 New Street (rue d'Ecosse). The road coming from the abbey of Saint-Ouen to the north was lined by a new development before 1231, built on abbatial land and described as 'street of the Bourg-l'Abbé *penteurs*' in 1234.[68]

The larger newly developed area was to become the parish of Saint-Nicaise (Map 6). The abbey of Saint-Ouen developed a new urban district on a regular plan covering 5 ha and establishing the rues Coignebert, Saint-Nicaise, Poisson, Noblet, Tirhuit, des Maîtresses, de l'Epée, de la Pomme-d'Or, and de la Prison forming quadrangular blocks. The wide streets (6.5 m, or 20 feet) and plots (each house was made of two spans of 3.25 m, or 10 feet) and the height of the two-storey houses (each level was 3.25 m high, or 10 feet) formed a cubic elemental space of 6.5 m × 6.5 m × 6.5 m, according to a scholastic composition possibly inspired by William of Conches whose work was read by the monks of Saint-Ouen.[69] In the same year that the streets were laid out (1240–41),

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[67] Rouen, BM, Tiroir 324, 1283. The site of the Gare Routière was razed during the thirteenth century and a new street was established between the rue des Charrettes and the quay, as a consequence of the quay's construction: Guillot, 'Rouen, rue des Charrettes'.

[68] This Bourg-l'Abbé is not the present-day rue Bourg-l'Abbé.

[69] 'Est ergo unitas in compositione anime ut per eius indivisibilitatem indivisibilitas essentie anime significetur: binarius et ternarius, qui sunt lineares, ut ostendatur in anima potentia movendi corpus in longum; quaternarius vero et novenarius, qui sunt superficiales, ut osten-

the parish of Saint-Nicaise was founded on a former vineyard. Water was dispensed through public wells. The parishioners of Saint-Nicaise numbered 450 in *c*. 1250 and 1205 in 1347, which shows the rapidity of the suburb's growth.[70]

Saint-Ouen was indeed a major developer in thirteenth-century Rouen. Some people, like Robert, prior of the monastery of Grandmont, near Sotteville, tried to speculate and profit by the new value given to the terrain, but Pope Innocent IV forbade the abbey to sell its lands in 1246, impeaching the addition of new rents on the plots.[71] This allowed the abbey to keep control of its *baronnie* (seigneurial estate), preventing speculation by external proprietors like Robert (who is known in addition to have forged grants for his monastery). The available data do not allow us to determine whether this decision was based on a will to facilitate the economic life of the inhabitants of the new quarters, who were in the majority textile workers dependant on great burgesses.

The expansion is also noticeable to the east, where a *Penteurs* street is known on the northern slopes of the parish of Saint-Vivien in 1228, and again a *Penteurs* lane along the ditch in 1253. Many previously unknown streets appeared in this sector in the 1230s to 1250s, but the process of urbanization is more difficult to decipher, as no important developers seem to have been involved. Two exceptions are the Franciscans, who settled near the chapel of Saint-Marc in 1228 and who, in 1248, left their precinct for the Donjon and possibly developed their former home sometime after, and Lambert the Moutardier's fief given to Saint-Ouen after 1228.

This expansion is manifest in the figures given by the two censuses available for this period. The first was established *c*. 1250 by Archbishop Eudes Rigaud and was probably based on the *debita* tax of one *denarius* per year per household (parishioner);[72] the second census, also based on households, is a *taille* role of 1347 (just before the arrival of the Black Death), but only concerns the quarters outside the wall and not included within the rights that freed the commune from

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datur potentia movendi in latum; octonarius et xxvii qui sunt solidi, propter potentiam movendi in spissum': William of Conches, *Glosae super Platonem*, ed. by Jeauneau, p. 155; Gauthiez, 'L'Urbanisme en Normandie au Moyen Âge', p. 413. For evidence of knowledge of William of Conches's work at Saint-Ouen, see Rouen, BM, MS A 452, from the abbey's library.

[70] Gauthiez, 'La Logique de l'espace urbain, formation et évolution', pp. 214–42; Gauthiez, 'Le Quartier Saint-Nicaise à Rouen', pp. 32–43.

[71] Rouen, Arch. dép. de la Seine-Maritime, 14 H 139, and again by Pope Gregory X in 1274; Gauthiez, 'La Forme des immeubles et le statut juridique des terrains', p. 273.

[72] BnF, MS lat. 11052; Eudes Rigaud, *Regestrum visitationum archiepiscopi Rothomagensis*, ed. by Bonnin, pp. 229–32, *Pouillé* d'Eudes Rigaud.

the *taille*.[73] In 1255, Saint-Vivien was said to be a 'great parish'.[74] Archbishop Eudes Rigaud's census counted 1300 parishioners at Saint-Vivien (there were 1960 households in 1347), and 1500 parishioners at Saint-Maclou. From perhaps a few hundred inhabitants in *c.* 1200, the north-east of Rouen grew to five thousand households a century later, many of them textile workers. Saint-Nicaise became the seat of the *Grande Draperie* of Rouen, whose workers had a leading role in the fourteenth- and fifteenth-century civil unrest arising from hard fiscal pressure, especially as the royal *taille* was seemingly exacted from the areas outside the wall where the workers mainly lived creating a huge economical inequity. One has to bear this context in mind when considering the politics of the relations between the king and the commune in the late thirteenth century and the first half of the fourteenth, which needs reassessing in that regard.[75]

The Transformation of the Walled Town

In parallel to the rapid, major expansion outwards, the inner city was greatly transformed in the thirteenth century, though the general distribution of the streets stayed the same. A major aspect of this transformation was the foundation and construction of several new religious communities. The mendicant orders obtained large areas by buying houses and received many grants. Their arrival was greatly facilitated as Eudes Rigaud was himself a Franciscan and had at his disposal large estates around Rouen. The Jacobins settled in *c.* 1221–23 on the Archbishop's manor, Saint-Mathieu, in the parish of Saint-Sever on the left bank. In 1243, they were given the estate of the Filles-Dieu in the city by Eudes. Typically, they then enlarged it thanks to about ten tenement grants. The chapel was consecrated in 1261. The Filles-Dieu, who arrived in 1240, consequently had to move to the rue du Vieux-Palais. The Franciscans were given the old ducal castle site by the King in 1245, but strong opposition from the cathedral chapter made them move further away from the cathedral and accept the Donjon, given in 1248 by Bertin du Chastel, a member of a leading burgess family and mayor in 1266–67.[76] Their chapel was the rebuilt church of

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[73] Bois, *Crise du féodalisme*, pp. 370–71; 'Polyptychum Rotomagensis dioecesis'; *Pouillés de la province de Rouen*, ed. by Longnon. Bardet, *Rouen aux XVII et XVIIIᵉ siècles*, II, 9, Tab. 4.

[74] 'Parochia magna': Rouen, Arch. dép. de la Seine-Maritime, G 1277.

[75] Sadourny, 'L'Époque communale', pp. 94–98.

[76] A Robert du Chastel was mayor in 1220/21 and 1228/29, Renaud du Chastel in 1253/54, and a Bertin du Chastel (probably not the same man) in 1266–67: Mollat, *Histoire de*

Figure 9.
The precinct wall built by Saint-Amand in 1277,
designed in order to sustain a wooden building
built at the same time (© B. Gauthiez 2010).

Saint-Clément. The Carmelites occupied the chapel of Saint-Yves on the south
bank of the Seine in *c.* 1260 and only moved into the walled town to the rue
de la Chaîne in 1336. The chapel of Saint-Mathieu was again given in 1261, by
Eudes Rigaud this time to a women's congregation, later called the Emmurées.

The Beguines were established by King Louis IX in the south-west corner of
the city, on the shipyard site where they are mentioned in 1269. Sachets broth-
ers are cited in 1266: they were probably also established by King Louis IX, but
the order was suppressed in 1271.[77] Their convent was seemingly located where
the Augustinians settled in 1309 in the rue Malpalu to the south of the Saint-

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Rouen, pp. 427–28.

[77] They wore bag-shaped clothes and are also known as 'sack friars': Hélyot and Hippolyte,
Dictionnaire des ordres religieux, III, 421.

Maclou parish, although they had first settled in the nearby village of Bihorel.[78] The walled city was now crowded with eight monasteries (plus two outside the walls), three collegial churches, one priory (and at least five outside the walls, of which two were also parishes), twenty-nine parish churches (and six outside), and several hospitals (Saint-Ouen,[79] Saint-Martin, Saint-Antony, the Hôtel-Dieu, the hôpital du Roi founded in 1278, and at least two outside the city). We must add to this list the Templars, who had two houses mentioned in the early thirteenth century, the colleges of Albane, founded in 1245, Darnétal (1300), and Saint-Esprit (1305), and the Bons-Enfants (1344), the Clémentins (1350), and numerous houses owned by abbeys and priories from elsewhere in Normandy.[80] Alongside the activities of the archbishops and the cathedral, one has a strong impression of how religious institutions were shaping the cityscape in the high Middle Ages. The numerous religious estates, drawing their wealth from a large and fertile territory, were adorned with new chapels and various buildings, some of which were in stone, but wood was still largely in use. A thirteenth-century building from the abbey of Saint-Amand still exists in the rue Saint-Amand (Figure 9). Its western gable is made of the abbey stone precinct wall erected in 1277.[81] The parish church of Saint-Nicolas, 100 m to the west, was a wooden building before its reconstruction in 1452–55.[82] Another relevant transformation is the building of several large market halls (certainly in wood) by King Louis IX in 1257–59 on the two-thirds of the ducal castle kept in royal hand. The northern castle ditch was developed in the meantime. The new market rivalled the Vieux-Marché so much that the southern part of the latter was probably sold for new house plots soon afterwards;[83] it was sold to the commune in 1262. Several guild halls were also present in the city, for example the cobblers' hall, but they are poorly documented.

[78] Gauthiez, 'La Logique de l'espace urbain, formation et évolution', pp. 242–44, 272.

[79] Deed of 1207, mentioned in a memorandum of 1677: Rouen, Arch. dép. de la Seine-Maritime, 14 H 350.

[80] Gauthiez, 'La Logique de l'espace urbain, formation et évolution', pp. 249–52: Bec-Hellouin, Montivilliers, Mont-Saint-Michel, Beaubec, Préaux, Saint-Étienne and La Trinité at Caen, Saint-Georges de Bocherville, Valmont, Bonport, Mortemer, Jumièges, Fécamp, Saint-Aubin en Campagne, Saint-Victor en Caux, Saint-Wandrille, Notre-Dame de Noe, Fontaine-Guérard, Conches, Isle-Dieu, Longueville, Saint-Laurens en Lions, Val-Sarnier, and Bondeville.

[81] *Cartulaire normand de Philippe-Auguste*, ed. by Delisle, no. 891.

[82] De Beaurepaire, *Notes historiques et archéologiques concernant le département de la Seine-Inférieure*, p. 219.

[83] Periaux, *Dictionnaire indicateur et historique des rues et places de Rouen*, p. 505.

City Walls and Ditches

The historiography of the city's wall in the thirteenth century is both abundant and puzzling. Periaux mentions four different dates for the building of the wall along its late fourteenth-century line, which are certainly too many. The difficulty in understanding the sequence of the walls at Rouen lies in the numerous royal concessions of parts of the ditches, or even of the wall itself, explained away by positing the building of a new city wall. A city defence ideally and generally comprised a double system of a wooden palisade that could be immediately or later — but not always — rebuilt in stone and a ditch.[84] The ditches were not to be used for buildings, which was not easy to enforce dur-

Figure 10. A surviving, heavily modified, early fourteenth-century house in place de la Rougemare (© B. Gauthiez 2010).

ing long periods of peace. They could, however, be used as gardens or for market gardening when they were not waterlogged. The twelfth-century wall of Rouen was lined by a ditch whose total area was about 6–7 ha, making it a potential source of considerable revenue. As a consequence, the ditches were systematically granted and rented, but this does not mean that the wall was replaced by a new one: in that case, the ditches were developed rather rapidly for new houses. In the thirteenth century, the ditches of the wall erected by Henry II were granted anew in separate sections: in 1220 to the abbey of Saint-Ouen, in 1232 to the Franciscans, in 1256 to the Jacobins, before 1283 for the fullers' earth and the lepers' brothel, and in 1289 to Richart le Framboisier. Nonetheless, the King endeavoured to retain the right to clear them in case of need, a right reasserted in 1291 in a deed misinterpreted by Chéruel.[85]

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[84] Kenyon, *Medieval Fortifications*; Bond, 'Anglo-Saxon and Medieval Defences'.

[85] Periaux, *Histoire sommaire et chronologique de la ville de Rouen*, p. 73 for 1204; p. 89 for 1240; p. 94 for 1253 and for 1347; Rouen, BM, MS Reg. U2, fol. 56ʳ. Rouen, BM, Tiroir 324.

40 m

2 m

Map 7.
Location of the development by
Saint-Ouen of rue Pincedos and place
de la Rougemare, *c*. 1320. Seventy-five
houses and common latrines probably
built to house workers and and
possibly also the architect employed
in the abbey church rebuilding. (From
Gauthiez, 'La Forme des immeubles et
le statut juridique des terrains', p. 281;
reproduced with permission.)

The demand for land for new developments was such that Saint-Ouen bought
from Colars de Sinors the same terrain granted in 1289 to Richart le Framboisier,
and in *c*. 1321 built about seventy-five houses with common latrines in the
ditch between the place Rougemare and the wall, along the newly established
rue Pincedos (Map 7, Figure 10). This may seem rather extraordinary, as no
new wall could allow for the suppression of a section of the ditch and the king's
officer, the *bailli*, apparently did not react to the construction. The only expla-
nation is that about half the built-up area of Rouen was already outside the
wall, so its protective role was now greatly reduced. Saint-Ouen led another
development at the same time, of an area of about 1.5 ha known as the Champ
des Piqueresses where about 120 houses were built. The income from these two

For the ditches, see Chéruel, *Histoire de Rouen pendant l'époque communale*, I, 192. On the
question of the wall, see Gauthiez, 'La Logique de l'espace urbain, formation et évolution',
pp. 195–97, 252–55.

Figure 11.
A burgess's house, rue du Gros-Horloge,
dated 1370 by Quennedey
(© B. Gauthiez 2010).

hundred houses was assigned to the rebuilding of the abbey church which had collapsed in 1318.[86]

The military importance of Rouen led to the building of the largest French royal shipyard by King Philippe le Bel in *c.* 1293, on the south bank of the Seine, in the context of renewed hostilities with England. The new shipyard, named the Clos-aux-Galées, replaced the old shipyard on the north bank, the site of which was given to the commune in 1283.[87] The royal shipyard was to become vitally important during the Hundred Years War: its location on the Seine was sheltered and gave direct access to military operations in the Channel. Rouen was also the second city in France in size and benefitted from the ancient and strong tradition of shipbuilding in Normandy. The distance to the Seine estuary quickly proved to be too long, leading to the development of a secondary arsenal at Harfleur, on the river mouth near Le Havre, at the end of the fourteenth century.

The urbanized area was not extended significantly after 1260. The urban economy, following the development of the wool industry, suffered setbacks, notably at the end of the thirteenth century and in the 1330s when the farm of Rouen fell significantly, but the causes for these setbacks are not well understood.[88] On several occasions the citizens violently opposed a group of rich

[86] Gauthiez, 'La Logique de l'espace urbain, formation et évolution', pp. 263–68.

[87] *Documents relatifs au Clos des Galées de Rouen*, ed. by Merlin-Chazelas.

[88] *The Royal Domain in the Bailliage of Rouen*, ed. by Strayer; Sadourny, 'Des débuts de la guerre de Cent Ans', p. 102.

Figure 12.
Two one-storeyed early
fourteenth-century houses
bought to found a hospital
in 1354 near the parish
church of Saint-Vivien, then
modified. One floor has
been added to the left one
(© B. Gauthiez 2010).

patricians comprising primarily the mayor families and closely associated with
the royal finances in the 1300s — some were among the richest burgesses of
Paris in 1300 and bankers of the kings.[89] By being burgesses of both the cities,
these patricians could benefit from the rights of the Parisian and overcome the
limitations of *rouennais* trade further up the Seine. A proletariat prone to social
unrest and rioting, probably not without good reasons, was harshly repressed
in 1281, 1292, and 1315.[90]

A New Architectural Landscape

The late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries were a period of architec-
tural consolidation in Rouen. The burgesses lived in stone manor houses three
floors high, or in large gable-roofed stone or wooden houses with jetties and
two to four floors on the main streets (Figure 11). The workers and less wealthy
Rouennais lived in wooden houses of one or two storeys on small plots, often
owned by burgesses or religious orders. The social differentiation is matched by

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[89] This probably explains why the financial operations of the great burgesses do not appear
at Rouen: Sadourny, 'Les Grandes familles rouennaises', p. 272.

[90] Gauthiez, 'La Logique de l'espace urbain, formation et évolution', pp. 268–71; Cazelles,
Nouvelle histoire de Paris, pp. 421–22.

Figure 13. Silhouettes of known fourteenth-century houses. (From Gauthiez, 'Les Maisons de Rouen', p. 146; reproduced with permission.) (1) rue Grand-Pont (demolished); (2) place du Marché-aux-Veaux; (3) rue du Gros-Horloge; (4) rue Damiette; (5) other known houses, extant and demolished.

different street-front landscapes: large gable-roofed stone or wooden houses in the centre of Rouen, often separated by lanes, displaying the wealth of their owners; smaller houses in the minor streets with only one storey (Figure 12); and, outside the walled area, thousands of small contiguous wooden workers' houses with a gable or a roof parallel to the street. It seems that the building of stone upper parts on the houses became exceptional after the mid-thirteenth century, though, in contrast, the cellars were more and more often built in stone. This may be the result of the city's *Etablissements* that, in specific cases, ordered some houses to be destroyed by tearing down the façade, which would have been
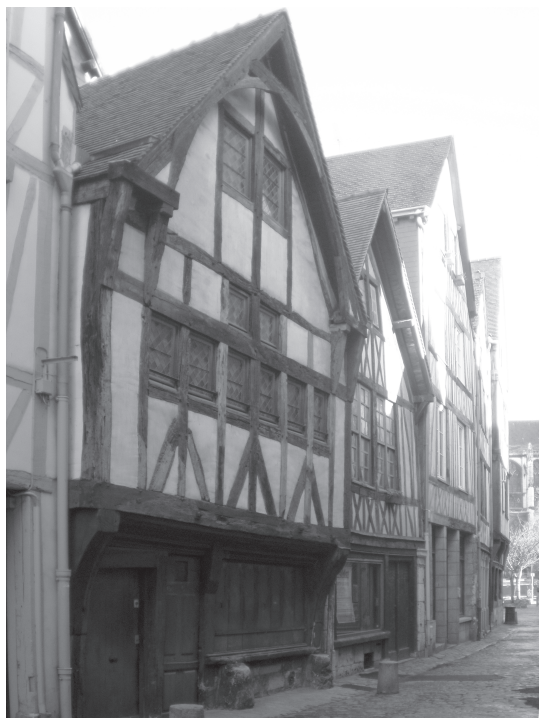
Figure 14.
A well-preserved fourteenth-century gable house, rue Damiette. It was previously a double house. The northern gable has been modified by suppressing the jetty. The ground-floor height has been reduced by the increase in the street level (© B. Gauthiez 2010).

made easier if it was made of wood. The remains of stone houses are often found in archaeological excavations or are still standing amid the urban fabric, but the survival of houses of that period in their original shape is rare (Figure 13). The wooden buildings have been generally modified and their façades rebuilt.[91] Some small fourteenth-century wooden houses with one storey and a gable roof survive, for example in the rue Damiette, and are accessible by going down a few steps because of the raised level of the street cobbling (Figure 14).

Fortunately, more is left of Rouen's two major buildings, the cathedral and the abbey church of Saint-Ouen, but they are exceptions as the architecture of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries in the city has largely disappeared. The cathedral was still under construction, as various sections were gradually replaced: the nave was completed after the fire of 1200, the choir in the 1220s, and the nave chapels in the 1260s. A virtually uninterrupted building cam-

[91] Gauthiez, 'Les Maisons de Rouen', pp. 132–46; Gauthiez, 'La Forme des immeubles et le statut juridique des terrains', pp. 270–74; Pitte and Cailleux, 'L'Habitation rouennaise aux XIIe et XIIIe siècles'.

Figure 15. The cathedral from the south-east, showing some of the thirteenth- and early fourteenth-century works (choir and transept southern façade) (© B. Gauthiez 2010).

paign saw the construction of a new cloister begun in the late thirteenth century, the Libraries portal and north transept façade between 1281 and 1300, the Lady Chapel between 1302 and *c.* 1320, and the Calende south transept façade between 1310 and 1340 (Figure 15).[92] The rebuilding of the abbey church at Saint-Ouen was undertaken in 1318, with the new choir completed in 1339 (Figure 16). Of the secular constructions, only the main tower of Philip Augustus's castle remains.

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[92] Grant, 'Rouen Cathedral'; Schlicht, *La Cathédrale de Rouen vers 1300*; Le Maho, 'Les Fouilles de la cathédrale Notre-Dame de Rouen', p. 72.

Figure 16. Choir of Saint-Ouen, built between 1320 and 1335 (© B. Gauthiez 2010).

Conclusion

Two sources already cited allow us to estimate Rouen's population in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. In *c.* 1250 Archbishop Eudes Rigaud's census gives 7639 parishioners, but we lack the figures for the parishes of Saint-Lô, Saint-Candé le Vieux, Saint-Étienne la Grande Église, Notre-Dame de la Ronde, and Saint-Gervais. It is possible that the poor were not taken into account. The total was probably closer to 8300, that is to say approximately forty thousand inhabitants allowing for five people per household, more if the poor are not included. Five per cent of the surnames in the period between 1190 and 1240, for those bearing a geographical origin, correspond to English people.[93] The proportion of Jewish people is unknown. The *taille* tax role of 1347 gives the number of households in the sectors situated outside the wall as 5684, the area

[93] Gauthiez, 'Paris, un Rouen capétien?', pp. 124, 129. It may be interesting to note that, using the same sources and excluding the religious professions, among the surnames corresponding to a trade or a craft, the masons (or architects) and carpenters occur most frequently, which is indicative of their high social status.

within being exempted of tax thanks to the commune.[94] The total inhabitants of Rouen was then probably between fifty thousand and sixty thousand people, with half living outside the wall. This is coherent with the size of the urbanized area of Rouen, about 200 ha, two-thirds that of Paris, the population of which was about eighty thousand inhabitants.[95] In 1346, according to the chronicler Pierre Cochon, 'Rouen has no wall, no ditches, no gates'.[96] Its suburbs had eventually spread to the point of being inhabited by half of its population, making the old city wall redundant, though it kept its fiscal and political functions as the limit of the city properly speaking, that is, the commune jurisdiction. Its symbolic meaning, as it was scarcely visible, had largely disappeared.

Rouen in the late tenth century was already the largest Norman city, and remained so until the present time. In the eleventh and early twelfth centuries, its development followed a line parallel to that of the other important cities in the duchy, Fécamp and Bayeux, which were probably the second in size in the early twelfth century, then Dieppe and Caen, the latter benefiting from the destruction of the former by the troops of Philip Augustus in 1195. These cities were followed in size by Eu, Falaise, and Pont-Audemer. Conversely, Rouen's development accelerated in the second half of the twelfth century, probably when its role as a 'capital' city was reinforced, until it was broken by the brutal loss of its political and economical centrality in 1204. But its development was again very pronounced in the second quarter of the thirteenth century, followed by a rather stable period. In Normandy only Louviers was also touched by such a rapid growth; in fact it was the only new town in the duchy after 1200, even though the textile industry had become a major activity in the

[94] Those two figures, for *c*. 1250 and 1347, have been the matter of discussions; see Bardet, *Rouen aux XVII et XIII* *siècles*, I, 33. The comparison between the figures available for whole parishes in *c*. 1250 and 1347 gives a growth rate of 55 per cent, but, as they are mainly parishes affected by the new developments, this figure is not indicative of the whole city.

[95] The comparison is made drawing the plans of the cities at the same scale and evaluating the densely urbanized area. The population of Paris has been widely discussed. Drawing a parallel between urbanized areas in Rouen and Paris, bearing in mind that the houses seem to have been of a similar size, makes it impossible to interpret the number given by the *taille* in Paris (about eighty thousand *c*. 1300) as households, which would mean some three hundred thousand to four hundred thousand people and a population density four or five times that of Rouen. An interesting parallel is Florence, where the population in the early fourteenth century was over one hundred thousand inhabitants, in an urbanized area some 10 per cent greater than that of Paris.

[96] Cochon, *Chronique normande*, ed. by de Beaurepaire, p. 69.

majority of the Norman towns.[97] Rouen was undoubtedly one of the largest cities in France before 1204, probably the largest before Philip Augustus's accession to the throne and his drive to develop Paris. But the loss of its political role made it miss the next step in the metropolitanization process that saw the emergence of Paris, London, to a lesser extent Bordeaux, then the leading city for the English territories on the Continent, and Avignon, when the papacy moved there in the early thirteenth century.

The central role of Rouen in Normandy, then in the Anglo-Norman realm, only partly explains who was responsible for the urban development. The dukes were undoubtedly very active, through liberty charters, walls, land grants, building work like the early eleventh-century extension westwards, and economic measures. They aided, and were probably aided by, the great families, at least from the second half of the eleventh century, when their wealth was rapidly increasing and benefiting from the political union with England in financial interdependence. The sources are too scarce to document the way the rich burgesses — and some were very rich — participated in the urban growth in any detail.[98] They seem to have been eager to profit from the possible new land revenues, notably buying plots and renting houses to the workers and making habitation dependent on economic factors. This stirred up social resentment, which became very visible until the late thirteenth century, when the economic boom ended. After 1204 a prominent role was played by the abbey of Saint-Ouen, which developed more than 10 ha of its *baronnie*, through new streets and rented plots, as is evidenced by the sophisticated layout for Saint-Nicaise parish in 1240.[99] Other ecclesiastical institutions may have acted the same way, to a lesser extent and without sophistication, for example the abbey of Fécamp in Saint-Gervais parish outside the wall to the north-west, the Franciscans around Saint-Marc, and the abbey of Bec-Hellouin at Saint-Sever/Émendreville.

Another phase of the city's story began with the deep crisis of the mid-fourteenth century, when the army of the Black Prince landed in France, prompting the decision to build a new wall around Rouen and many other cities in April 1346, and when the Black Death struck in 1348. The following period saw a deep demographic decline. The figure for the *taille* tax role of 1380 concerning the same districts as the 1347 one gives only 2485 households, which is

[97] On the development of towns in Normandy, see Gauthiez, 'The Evolution of Towns in Normandy'.

[98] Though see Manon Six's paper in this volume.

[99] There is no parallel in France and in England for such sophistication at that time.

about 57 per cent fewer.[100] The population of Rouen was reduced to twenty thousand to twenty-five thousand inhabitants (four to five persons per household). A full demographic recovery occurred in the early sixteenth century, but the extension of the city was stopped for four centuries.

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[100] Bardet, *Rouen aux xvii et xiiie siècles*, i, 33; ii, 9. Bois, *Crise du féodalisme*.

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Rouen and its Place in the Building Policy of the Angevin Kings

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Rouen is a populous and wealthy city, thronged with merchants, a meeting-place of trade routes, a fair city set among murmuring streams and smiling meadows':[1] Orderic Vitalis's description explains why Rouen has long been regarded as the Norman 'capital' of the Angevin kings. But if Rouen was one of the most dynamic cities of Western Europe in the middle of the twelfth century, competing with London and Paris, are economic and urbanistic criteria sufficient to define a city as a capital in the Middle Ages?[2] If the economic and demographic growth of towns in Western Europe from the twelfth century onwards is concomitant with the appearance of capitals, other criteria must be taken into account, such as the location of the seat of government and the royal residence. Rouen was indeed one of the biggest and richest towns of the Angevin territories, but the city did not fulfil all the functions of a modern capital in the twelfth century as the administrative institutions — Exchequer, Treasury, Seneschal — were located in Caen from the reign of Duke William II (1035–87, the Conqueror) onwards.[3] Although Rouen

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[1] 'Rodomensis ciuitas populis est ac negoricorum commerciis opulentissima portus quoque confluentia, et riuorum murmure ac pratorum amœnitate iocundissima': Orderic Vitalis, *The Ecclesiastical History*, ed. and trans. by Chibnall, III, 36–37.

[2] Bates, 'Rouen from 900 to 1204'; Rouen's population in the thirteenth century was estimated at around forty thousand, which makes Rouen, indeed, the most populated city in Normandy. Sadourny, 'L'Époque communale', p. 79.

[3] Boucheron, Menjot, and Monnet, 'Formes d'émergence, d'affirmation et de déclin des capitales'. For these authors, if we consider the common definition of 'capital', we must recognize

was a metropolitan episcopate and had the right to mint money (the 'libra rothomagensis'), the legal and administrative practices of the Angevin kings in Rouen were not highly developed. Among other things, itinerant kingship explains why the administrative functions we might expect in a capital were distributed among different locations. This did not, however, prevent Rouen from remaining a major continental city, not only economically, but also politically and architecturally. If to make a city a capital is an act of will that is then reflected in the buildings, can we really assert, as Bernard Gauthiez did, that 'the planning undertaken by Henry II [1154–89] in Rouen is as far as we know unparalleled in the great cities of the Plantagenet domain, giving it the features of a capital'?[4] My purpose will be to reappraise such an assumption, not in establishing whether Rouen was a capital in the sense that Paris would become, as Bernard Gauthiez tried to do,[5] but in re-evaluating its place in the general organization of the Angevin Empire, regarding how the Angevin kings contributed to the growth and development of many other ducal or comital cities, notably Poitiers, La Rochelle, Dublin, and London.[6] If Rouen had a specific place in Normandy, we must not forget to place the kings' patronage in a wider context of Normandy itself.

Royal patronage of the main cities was not limited to grants of liberties, but extended to the improvement of urban buildings and infrastructure for the common good, contributing to changes in the morphological plans of the towns. One way to compare Rouen with the other major cities in the Angevin Empire is to pay attention to the king's investments for the common good and the general interest of the city. For most of the period, we cannot know how much money was spent on improving the city, because royal accounts are not precise enough. For Normandy, there are only six incomplete Exchequer rolls

that in the Middle Ages, the phenomenon was only an imperfect, occasional, and belated one: 'Entre Rome et les capitales fixes des États modernes absolutistes, le Moyen Âge serait dans ce domaine, l'histoire d'un manque' (p. 16). They noted also that there was no entry for capitals in main dictionaries of the Middle Ages. As the only capital was Jerusalem, we must then consider this notion in its historical context. The seat of the Exchequer and Treasury was in Rouen only from the end of the thirteenth century. Neveux, 'La Constitution d'un réseau urbain en Normandie'.

[4] 'l'urbanisme pratiqué par Henri II à Rouen, à notre connaissance sans parallèle dans les grandes villes de l'ensemble Plantagenêt, lui donne ainsi des traits qui sont ceux d'une capitale': Gauthiez, 'Paris, un Rouen capétien?', p. 123.

[5] Gauthiez, 'Paris, un Rouen capétien?', pp. 117–36.

[6] Chédeville, 'Le Mouvement communal en France'.
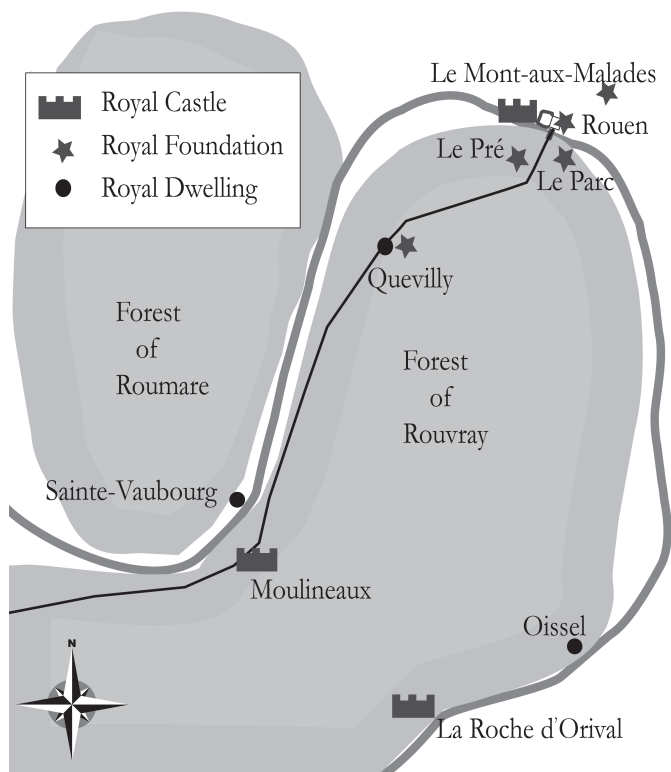
Map 8.
Rouen and its
surrounding area
(not to scale)
(by Fanny Madeline).

left (for 1180, 1184, 1195, 1198, 1200, and 1202).[7] The Exchequer was an Anglo-Norman institution and there is no evidence that it existed elsewhere in the empire before the reign of King John (1199–1216).[8] To some extent, other material, like chronicles and archaeological evidence, can be used to fill the gaps in our knowledge.

This essay approaches the significance of Rouen in the urban building policy of the Angevin kings on three levels, revealing Rouen's specific significance and the relevance of its characteristics as a capital. First, at the local level, we will discuss Rouen's status as a ducal city, both as a residence, by considering the

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[7] See the work of Moss, 'Normandy and England in 1180'; Moss, 'The Norman Exchequer Rolls of King John'; Moss, 'A New Edition of the Norman Pipe Rolls'.

[8] On this debate, see Turner, *King John* which gives a good summary (pp. 67–86); also Holt, 'The Loss of Normandy and Royal Finances'; Gillingham, 'Problems of Integration within the Lands Ruled by the Norman and English Kings of England'; Gillingham, *Richard Coeur de Lion*.

city's relationship with its suburbs and hinterland, and as a town favoured by the king's patronage. Second, we will examine Rouen's changing role as a centre of government, in particular, the impact of the creation of Château-Gaillard during the reign of Richard I (1189–99) on Rouen's status as a centre. Finally, we will compare royal building policy at Rouen with the other main cities of the Angevin Empire, by analysing building works completed in Rouen alongside those undertaken elsewhere in the empire.

Rouen as a Ducal City

Rouen had been a site of ducal residence since Carolingian times,[9] but in the twelfth century, it was not the only ducal residence in the area. The Seine meander in which Rouen was located was indeed a wide wooded one, and the dukes used to go there often to hunt. Four other ducal residences are known from the evidence. The manor of Oissel and the priory of Notre-Dame du Pré were founded by Duke William II. The manor of Sainte-Vaubourg was set up by Henry I as a hunting lodge in the forest of Roumare.[10] The first mention of the ducal *villa* of Quevilly, located near the forest of Rouvray, close to the city, appears in Dudo of Saint-Quentin's *History of the Normans*, written at the beginning of the eleventh century, where he notes a *villa* already existed at the time of Duke William I Longsword (d. 942) (Map 8).[11] This *villa* was enlarged by Henry II in 1161, who made 'a park and a royal manor house around the *fustes plantatos*';[12] Henry II is thus considered as the builder of the *aula* there, or 'la salle du roi', called later 'la salle des puelles', and he was probably also the founder of the chapel of Saint-Julien built about the same time and where the famous twelfth-century paintings can still be seen.[13] According to Marjorie Chibnall, the priory of Notre-Dame du Pré and the manor at Quevilly formed

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[9] See Bernard Gauthiez's essay in this volume.

[10] Le Maho, 'Aux origines du "Grand-Rouen"'.

[11] Dudo of Saint-Quentin, *De moribus et actis primorum Normanniae ducum*, ed. by Lair, p. 220: 'Hujus [William …] misit dominegas secreti sui conscios, ut ad villam quae dicitur Cheville clam deportaretur'.

[12] 'parcum et mansionem regiam fecit circa fustes plantatos': Robert of Torigni, *Chronique suivie de divers opuscules historiques*, ed. by Delisle, I, 331.

[13] Chibnall, *The Empress Matilda*, p. 188. Étienne-Steiner, *La Chapelle Saint-Julien du Petit-Quévilly*; Stratford, 'Le Petit-Quevilly'; Stratford, 'The Wall-Paintings of the Petit-Quevilly'; Le Maho, 'Aux origines du "Grand-Rouen"'.

a palatial complex, on the pattern of Westminster, but on a smaller scale.[14] This complex was used by Empress Matilda in the last years of her life (*c.* 1148–67) and from there, she may have dealt with ducal business during her son's absences in England or in other parts of the Angevin Empire, just as she did during his minority. During the first part of Henry II's reign, Quevilly was one of the main ducal residences in the area of Rouen, and one of the most visited. In the 1180s, Henry converted this manor into a religious house for a community of aristocratic female lepers. A charter dated *c.* 1185–88 confirms the grant to the leprous women of 'the enclosed plot of land and my dwelling of Quevilly, where I built their house'.[15] Settling the community in this manor, probably left mostly unoccupied since the death of Matilda, also coincided with more prolonged absences of Henry II from Rouen and its surroundings by the end of his reign.[16] Henry II's itinerary shows that he stayed less often in Rouen after the mid-1170s than he did before (Figure 17a and b).[17] As early as 1170, Henry II had also transferred the manor of Sainte-Vaubourg to the Templars.[18] Such conversions of the ducal residences around Rouen to religious houses in the latter part of the reign may be seen as a result of Henry's 'loss of interest' following the grant of the *Établissements de Rouen* around 1170 that made the city a free borough.[19] If we consider these conversions in the context of the religious patronage of Henry II for Rouen and its environs, we can present a different view.

Henry II was indeed an active patron of religious communities in the area around Rouen as for Normandy more generally, but it was mostly from the 1170s — after the murder and canonization of Thomas Becket — that Henry II's patronage for Rouen's ecclesiastical and monastic houses grew.

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[14] Chibnall, *The Empress Matilda*, p. 151.

[15] *Acta of the Plantaganets, 1154–1204*, ed. by Vincent, Everard, and Holt, no. 2533H; *Recueil des actes de Henri II*, ed. by Delisle and Berger, ii, 296–97, no. 678.

[16] There are nevertheless some charters place-dated in Quevilly after the 1170s, as for instance Rouen, Arch. dép. de la Seine-Maritime, 1890H; Rouen, Arch. dép. de la Seine-Maritime, 3383H; Rouen, Arch. dép. de la Seine-Maritime, 1853H; and Rouen, Arch. dép. de la Seine-Maritime, 1889H. Of the twenty-three Quevilly charters, only five are dated after 1173–75, but most of the surviving charters of Henry II redated from the first part of his reign. Vincent, 'Regional Variations in the Charters of King Henry II'.

[17] Maps drawn from Everard, 'Henry II's Itinerary'.

[18] *Acta of the Plantaganets, 1154–1204*, ed. by Vincent, Everard, and Holt, no. 1010H; Miguet, *Templiers et Hospitaliers en Normandie*, pp. 401–25.

[19] Giry, *Les Établissements de Rouen*; Segala, 'Le Regime juridique des Établissements de Rouen'.
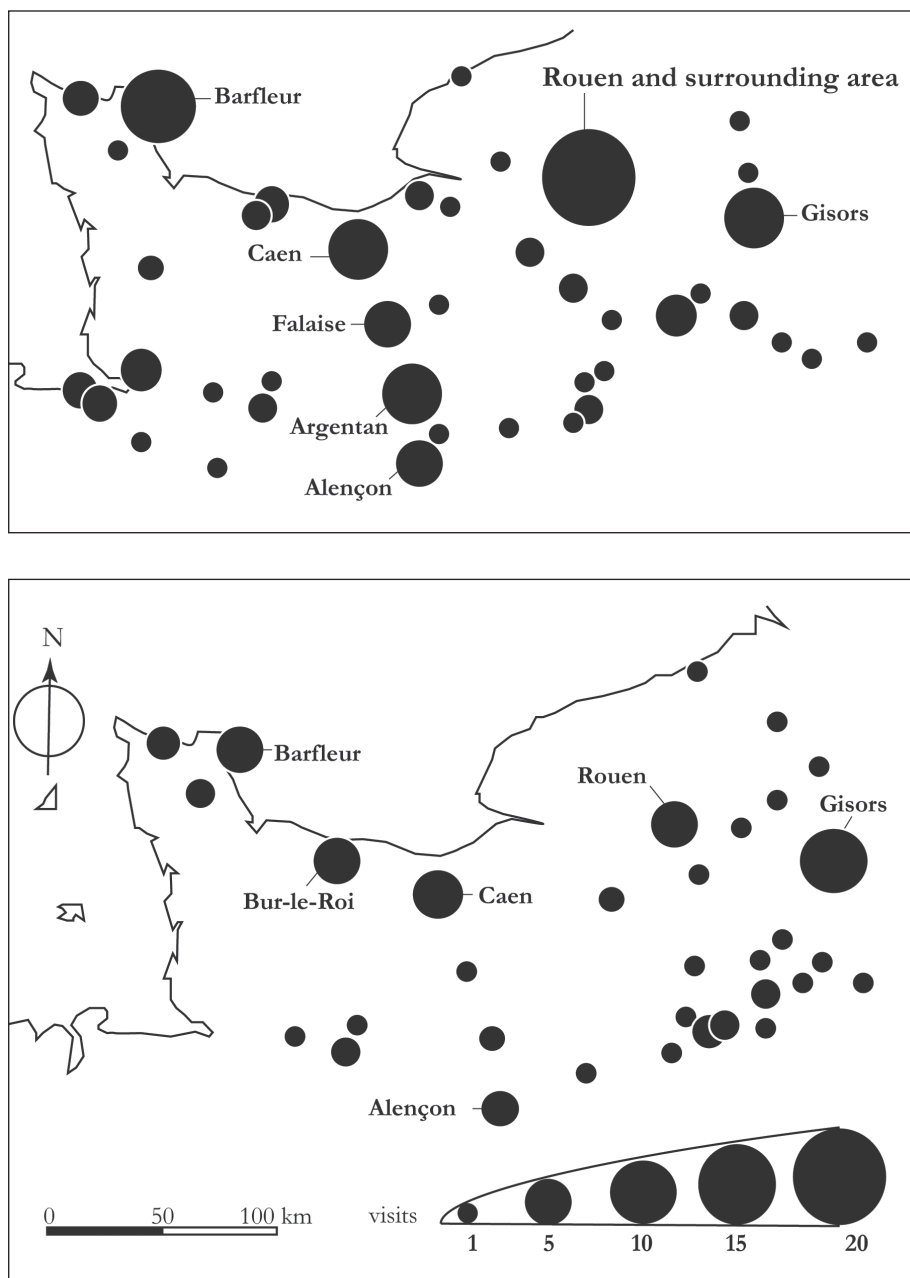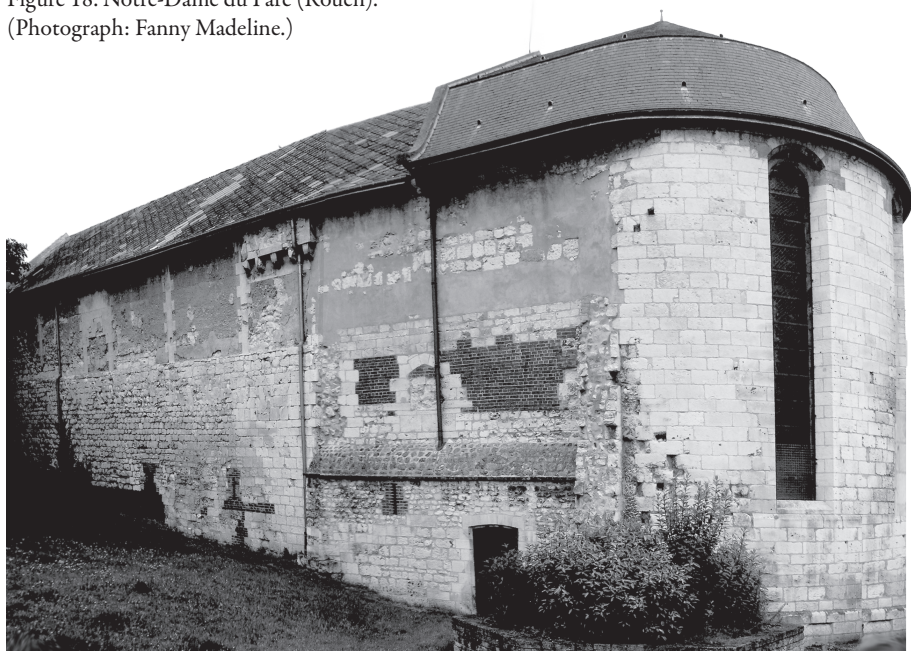
Figure 17. (a, top) Henry II's visits between 1154–74; (b, bottom) Henry II's visits between 1175–89 (maps by Fanny Madeline, cartography with @arctique).

Figure 18. Notre-Dame du Parc (Rouen).
(Photograph: Fanny Madeline.)

Earlier foundations included the well-known Grandmontine priory of Notre-Dame du Parc, founded as early as 1156 or 1158 on the north border of the park at Quevilly on the opposite bank of the Seine to the city (Figure 18),[20] and the Augustinian priory of Mont-aux-Malades, established at Mont-Saint-Aignan.[21] The leper community endowed by Henry I between 1106 and 1135 was re-established in a new priory dedicated to St Thomas Becket. If Henry II's decision to reconstruct Mont-aux-Malades falls within the scope of a tradition of ducal patronage, equally this can be considered as an effort to promote the development of Rouen at a time when the increase in the urban population and the numbers of lepers in the city required the planning of new infrastructure.

This policy was followed by his son Richard I who also patronized hospitals in Rouen, including his father's foundations and the hospital of La Madeleine.[22] His attachment to Rouen is also expressed by his will to have

[20] Hallam, 'Henry II, Richard I, and the Order of Grandmont'.

[21] See Elma Brenner's essay in this volume.

[22] Richard is listed in the memorial book of La Madeleine (Rouen, BM, MS Y 42, fol. 21ᵛ) as an important benefactor. But this memorial book dates from the fifteenth century, with its

his heart buried in the cathedral, where his *gisant* was later deposited.[23] King John also granted royal subsidies for the cathedral's reconstruction after the fire of 1200.[24] According to Lindy Grant, it is impossible that the cathedral was entirely destroyed, but it was sufficiently damaged for King John to intervene.[25] In a letter dated 25 September (1200?), the King announced a gift of £2000 for repairs to the cathedral church of Rouen to be received on four dates.[26] Payment was spread in this manner until 1204. Not only were these instalments a means for King John to purchase the support of the burgesses and of Walter of Coutances, Archbishop of Rouen (1184–1207), in his war against Philip Augustus, they also continue the patronage policies of his ancestors. John was without doubt aiming to reinforce his links with the Rouen burgesses, and to be assured of their support for his party, in standing as a generous benefactor of the ducal city.[27] If the patronage of hospitals and cathedrals is above all the expression of the piety and charity of the Plantagenets, it cannot be considered in isolation from the civic concerns of the twelfth-century Rouennais society.[28]

These concerns included the need for building bridges and town walls. Town walls had military as well as economic and symbolic functions, as walls and gates were not only places where urban authorities could express their power, through architectural details or sculpture, but were also places where commercial goods were taxed. Rouen's new walls were probably erected around

first entries made after 1460 and before 1467 and many later additions up to the eighteenth century. It appears to contain a number of entries from an earlier memorial book, now apparently no longer extant, since it includes the names of individuals (like Richard I) who can be definitively dated to the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries. See also Eude, *Le Prieuré Sainte-Madeleine de l'Hôtel-Dieu*, p. [11]. For la Salle-aux-Puelles, Richard donated the church of Grand-Couronne on 4 April 1195: *Acta of the Plantaganets, 1154–1204*, ed. by Vincent, Everard, and Holt, 3890R. I would like to thank Elma Brenner for providing me with this information.

[23] Matthew Paris, *Chronica majora*, ed. by Luard, ii, 452; Deville, *Tombeaux de la Cathédrale de Rouen*, pp. 159–66.

[24] Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, ed. by Stubbs, iv, 116: 'Eodem anno, in ipsa die Paschae quae quinto idus Aprilis, evenit combusta est fere tota civitas Rothomagi cum ecclesia sedis archiepiscopalis et aliis ecclesiis multis'.

[25] *Rotuli litterarum patentium in Turri Londinensi asservati*, ed. by Hardy, p. 19; Grant, 'Rouen Cathedral'; Paul Webster's essay in this volume.

[26] *Rotuli Normanniae in Turri Londinensi asservati*, ed. by Hardy, pp. 33, 86; *Rotuli de liberate ac de misis et praestitis*, ed. by Hardy, p. 80.

[27] Vincent, 'Jean comte de Mortain'.

[28] For consideration of *rouennais* society, see Daniel Power's and Manon Six's contributions in this volume.

1160–70 for all these purposes, in the context of the charter of liberties granted by Henry II and known as the *Établissements de Rouen*.[29] Although the walls were not necessarily built as a consequence of this charter, they can be seen as a symbol of Rouen's new civic autonomy, as well as of the reinforcement of ducal power in the city.

The ducal patronage of Rouen did not, however, begin in the reign of Henry II: Angevin kings mostly continued initiatives of Henry I (duke of Normandy 1106–35), Geoffrey of Anjou (d. 1151), and Empress Matilda (1102–67).[30] The protection of burgesses was a ducal function through which dukes exercised their power as guarantors of the common good. Geoffrey and Matilda had, in particular, built two bridges across the Seine. According to Robert of Torigni, the wooden bridge built by Geoffrey burned down around 1136. It was repaired and replaced after his death by a stone bridge financed by Matilda. This bridge, known as 'le pont de la reine Mathilde', was probably erected between 1151 and 1167 and was destroyed in 1661.[31] Evidence of bridge building thus appeared in Rouen, as in the other main cities of the Angevin Empire, as a work of public utility sponsored by seigniorial authorities, rather than as an act of charity as in the south of France.[32] It was largely put into practice by the counts of Anjou from the time of Fulk Nerra (987–1040). The counts' patronage of bridges had been seen as a means of 'territorializing' their power, that is, enabling them to ride quickly, easily, and visibily thorough their territory to intervene in due time.[33] Along with the construction of new bridges it was often necessary to improve the gates and the roads leading to them, as was probably the case for the roadway on the south bank leading to the new bridge built by Matilda.[34] Bernard Gauthiez attributes to Henry II the paving of the streets in Rouen, as a mention of the 'pavement du roi' concerning the parish of Saint-Vivien in 1218 suggests. Henry II could have indeed subsi-

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[29] Neveux, *La Normandie des ducs aux rois*, pp. 258–60.

[30] Bates, 'Rouen from 900 to 1204', p. 5. For Haskins, *Norman Institutions*, pp. 143–44, Geoffrey was the man who made Rouen a real capital based on charter evidence.

[31] Robert of Torigni, *Chronique suivie de divers opuscules historiques*, ed. by Delisle, I, 68: 'Fecit autem praedicta imperatrix [...] ad pontem etiam lapideum super sequanam apud Rothomagum a se inchoatum multam summa pecuniae dimisit' (1167); Fache and Dupont-Boisjouvin, *Histoire des ponts de Rouen*.

[32] Boyer, *Medieval French Bridges*, pp. 13–27.

[33] Brooks, 'Medieval Bridges'.

[34] Dubosc, 'La Maison des Templiers de Rouen', p. 75.

dized such works, following the example of Philip Augustus who made pavements in Paris in 1185.[35] As no other evidence supports such an attribution, it is possible that this paving could also have been sponsored by his successors.

All the evidence for ducal patronage suggests why Gerald of Bari's (of Wales) model for every prince striving for the common good may refer to Henry II's patronage for Rouen. In his *Liber de principis instructione*, dedicated to Louis VIII of France (1223–28), he wrote:

> Through his foresight, he is very capable not only with a view to living, but also with a view to bringing about an untroubled and happy time. For he has a prudent and wise mind to enclose cities with walls, surround them with ditches, erect towers, strengthen them extensively with defences and food supplies, and also towards this end to lift up the minds of citizens with liberties, to encourage them through numerous gifts, to restore the very youthfulness of the sea through exercise and activities, and in this way to shape fierce wars with preludes which would not be futile in a time of peace.[36]

Despite the favour shown by Henry II to Rouen from the second half of his reign and then under Richard, the city's place in Angevin policy seemed to decline. Compared to the expenses incurred by Richard in order to fortify the Seine valley, royal building policy in the ducal city was greatly neglected (see Figures 21 and 22, below). Paradoxically, if the city itself was not the place of main ducal expenses, it was still the centre of interest as all the fortifications were designed to protect and defend Rouen, the principal and richest city of his duchy.

Rouen's Changing Role as a Centre of Ducal Government

The itineraries of the three kings in Normandy show some differences in the way Norman space was traversed and occupied (Figure 19). Whereas Henry II, or more precisely his chancery, divided its time mostly between Rouen and Gisors, it is clear that during the reign of Richard the centre of Upper Normandy

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[35] Gauthiez, 'Paris, un Rouen capétien?', citing Rouen, Arch. dép. de la Seine-Maritime, 14 H 18, no. 185; Baldwin, *Philippe Auguste et son gouvernement*, p. 94, citing Rigord and Guillaume Le Breton, *Œuvres*, ed. by Delaborde, i, 34, 53, 54, 70.

[36] Gerald of Bari (of Wales), *De principis instructione liber*, ed. by Warner, 43–44: 'Nec solum ad vivendum, verum etiam ad secure feliciterque tempus agendum, plurimum providentia valet. Urbes enim muris claudere, cingere fossatis, turribus erigere, armis atque alimentis copiose munire, ad haec etiam civium animos libertatibus extollere, crebris excitare donariis, ipsam juventutem maris exercitio negotiis redire, et tanquam ad bella saeva praeludiis quibusdam non inutilibus sub pace formare, providae mentis est et sapientis'.
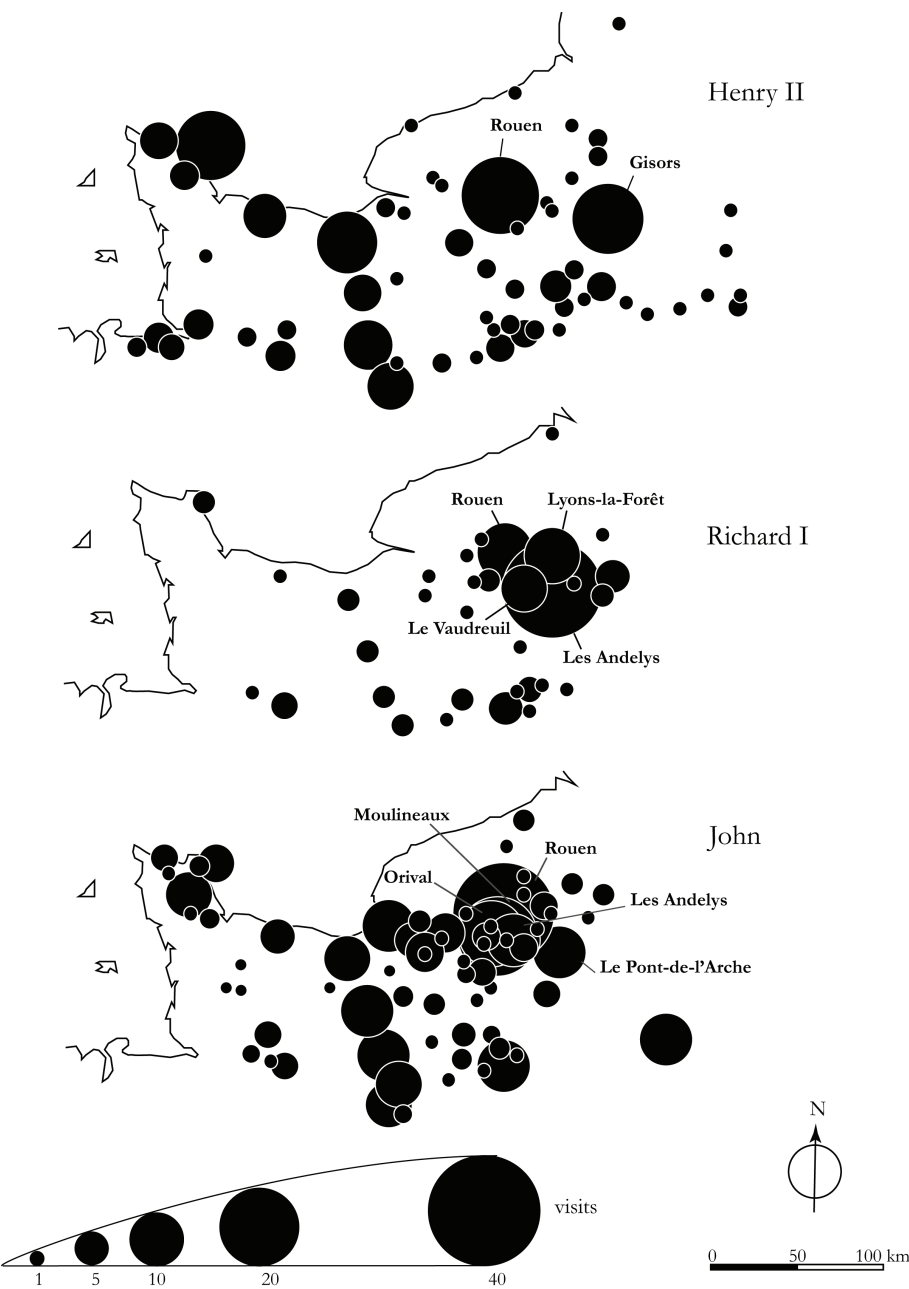
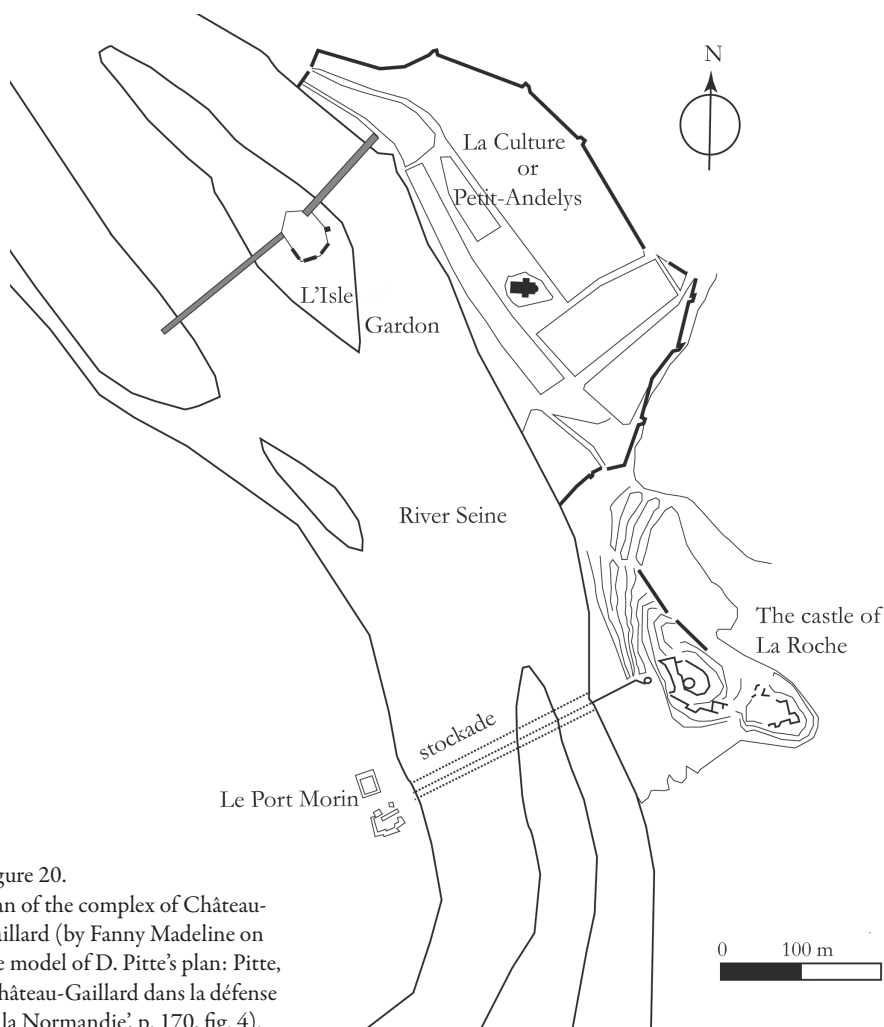Figure 19. Royal itineraries (by Fanny Madeline, cartography with @arctique).

Figure 20.
Plan of the complex of Château-
Gaillard (by Fanny Madeline on
the model of D. Pitte's plan: Pitte,
'Château-Gaillard dans la défense
de la Normandie', p. 170, fig. 4).

shifted towards the upper Seine valley, specifically around Les Andelys, Le
Vaudreuil, and Lyons-la-Forêt. Les Andelys and Le Vaudreuil were key places
in Richard's defence policy for Normandy, while Lyons, where Henry I died
in 1135, was used more as a hunting lodge. During King John's reign, Rouen
seems to have regained its centrality, as did the castles near the city, such as
Orival and Moulineaux. After Le Vaudreuil fell to Philip Augustus in 1202, Le
Pont-de-l'Arche replaced it as the key fortress that protected access to the ducal
domain. Refocusing on Rouen must, however, be interpreted as the failure of

John to sustain Richard's positions against Philip Augustus and reflects the progress of French armies towards Rouen.

The key place in Normandy during the last years of the twelfth century that functioned almost as a capital was the complex of Château-Gaillard (Figure 20), which should not be seen only as a military stronghold. Along with the castle of La Roche built on the rocky spur overhanging a meander of the river Seine, Richard also built a new palatial complex in the island located below the rocky spur, extending and fortifying the existing episcopal manor.[37] He also settled a new fortified borough called La Culture or 'Le Petit-Andelys', just in front of the island, linked with a bridge.[38] Richard's choice of the site of Les Andelys, which belonged to the Archbishop of Rouen, was highly provocative, but it must be placed in the context of the peace of Louviers and the Treaty of Gaillon signed in 1194 that fixed new borders between the lands of the two kings.[39] Les Andelys was located right in the middle of the delimited zone and was thus declared neutral or demilitarized.[40] Despite this clause in the treaty, Richard seized the place and erected Château-Gaillard with Pope Clement III's support. Clement recognized Richard's right to fortify his frontiers and helped to negotiate with Archbishop Walter of Coutances for the exchange of properties.[41] Moreover, in 1190, just before taking the cross, Richard had founded the abbey of Bonport midway between Rouen and Les Andelys, in part to control

[37] Rigord and Guillaume Le Breton, *Œuvres*, ed. by Delaborde, II, book VII, ll. 29–42: 'est locus Andeli qui nunc habet insula nomen [...] | Hunc rex Ricardus turri muniverat olim | Et circumdederat vallis et menibus altis | Edificans intrus penetralia regia, dignos | Principibus summis habitari rite penates'.

[38] Rigord and Guillaume Le Breton, *Œuvres*, ed. by Delaborde, I, 208–09: 'et edificavit ibidem, super ripam Sequane a parte orientali villam amentissimam in loco munitissimo; ex una enim parte circuibat eam fluvium predictus et ex alia stagnum amplissimum et profundum ex quo stagno duo rivi, quorum uterque amnis vocari poterat, in utorque introitu ville in fluvium Sequanam derivantur et super utrumque rivum edificavit pontes et turres lapideas et ligneas tam in introitibus quam in circuitu erexit, propugnaculis et fenestris arcubalistaribus interjectis'.

[39] Rousseau and Gosset, 'Le Traité de Gaillon'.

[40] Rousseau and Gosset, 'Le Traité de Gaillon', p. 70: 'De Andeliaco sic erit: quod nec dominus noster rex Francorum nec nos in eo clamamus feodum sive dominium; [...] Andeliacum non poterit inforciari'.

[41] Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, ed. by Stubbs, IV, 14: 'Ricardus rex Angliae firmavit novum castellum in insula de Andeli contra voluntatem et prohibitionem Walteri Rotomagensis archiepiscopi'. Ralph de Diceto, *Opera historica*, ed. by Stubbs, II, 149; Gillingham, *Richard I*, pp. 301–02; Gillingham, 'The Travels of Roger of Howden'.

the traffic on the Seine during his absence.[42] He had thus recreated the triad of monastery, palace, and castle around Les Andelys.

The monumental and documentary evidence for Château-Gaillard is extremely well preserved compared to the majority of twelfth-century buildings. A great deal of research has already investigated financial and archaeological aspects (Figure 20),[43] showing not only the financial but also the personal investment of Richard in the construction of the castle of La Roche at Château-Gaillard, as William of Newburgh tells us:

> In that place, while this great undertaking was in progress, a wonderful event is related to have happened. For, as some not ignoble persons — who assert that they were present themselves aver — in the month of May, a little before the solemnities of the Lord's Ascension, as the king drew near, and urged on the work (for he came frequently to point out and hurry its completion, and took great pleasure in beholding its advancement), suddenly a shower of rain mixed with blood fell, to the astonishment of all the bystanders who were present with the king, as they observed drops of real blood upon their garments, and feared that so unusual an occurrence might portend evil: but the king was not dismayed at this, nor did he relax in promoting the work in which he took so great delight, that (unless I am mistaken) if even an angel from heaven had persuaded him to desist, he would have pronounced anathema against him.[44]

Richard often stayed in the palace located in the island below the town of La Culture (or Petit-Andelys), supervising works that lasted two years.[45] In the

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[42] Gosse-Kischniewski, 'La Fondation de l'abbaye de Bonport'.

[43] Deville, *Histoire du Château-Gaillard*; Courtil, *Le Château-Gaillard*; Héliot, 'Le Château Gaillard'; Pitte, Fourny-Dargère, and Caldéroni, *Château-Gaillard*; Le Maho, 'Fortifications de siège et "contre-châteaux"'; Pitte, 'Château-Gaillard dans la défense de la Normandie'; Pitte, 'Château-Gaillard: la fortification d'un site'; Pitte, 'La Prise de Château-Gaillard'; Corvisier, 'Château-Gaillard et son donjon'; Moss, 'War, Economy and Finance in Angevin Normandy'; Moss, 'The Defence of Normandy, 1193–1198'.

[44] William of Newburgh, *History*, trans. by Halsall; William of Newburgh, *Historia rerum anglicarum*, ed. by Howlett, ii, 500 (book v, ch. 34): 'Sane in loco illo, cum magna illa aedificatio fieret, rem prodigiosam contigisse fuerunt. Nam [...] mense Maio paulo ante Dominicae Ascensionis sollemnia, cum rex adesset et opus urgeret, nam saepius ad disponendum urgendumque opus aderat, et conspectum proficientis operis pro magna voluptate habebat, repente imber sanguine mixtus descendit, stupendtibus cum ipso rege cunctis qui aderant: cum et in suis vestibus veri sanguinis guttas conspicerent, et rem tam insolitam malum portendere formidarent. Verum ex hoc idem rex non est territus, qui minus operi promovendo interderet, in quo sibi, ni fallor, ita complacebat, ut etiam, si angelus de coelo id omittendum suaderet, anathema illi esset'.
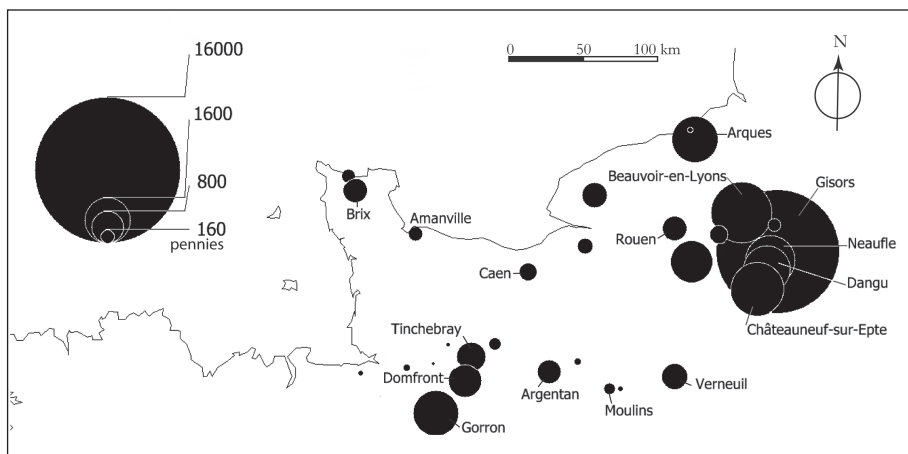
[45] Landon, *The Itinerary of King Richard I*.

Figure 21. Henry II's expenses in Normandy registered in Norman Exchequer rolls (*liv. ang.*)
(by Fanny Madeline, cartography with @arctique).

Norman Exchequer rolls, the exact distribution of expenses between La Roche and L'Isle cannot be calculated because most of the entries are given for both constructions at the same time. The total amount is nevertheless about 54,028 *liv. ang.* The splendour of this residence is known through a description by Guillaume Le Breton in *La Philippide*, and a mid-nineteenth-century description of the remains, then present but now no longer extant, described the shape of the buildings as inscribed in an irregular circle with a bulging base, varied thickness, and twenty-two canted walls. The cost of these walls, surrounded by ditches, is registered as being as much as 1205 *liv. ang.*[46] There were apparently no towers, and old gates led directly to the wooden bridges towards La Culture. This place was the new burgh settled and fortified by Richard, along with his castle and palace.[47]

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[46] *Magni rotuli scaccarii Normanniae sub regibus Angliae*, ed. by Stapleton, II, 310: 'pro claudendo castro de Insula de petra'; Brossard de Ruville, *Histoire de la ville des Andelis*, quoted in Pitte, Fourny-Dargère, and Caldéroni, *Château-Gaillard*.

[47] *Magni rotuli scaccarii Normanniae sub regibus Angliae*, ed. by Stapleton, II, 310: 'operationibus domorum et hericonorum et fossatorum de Cultura et in operationibus domorum ville de subtus Roka'. Rigord and Guillaume Le Breton, *Œuvres*, ed. by Delaborde, I, 208–09: 'et edificavit ibidem, super ripam Sequane a parte orientali villam amentissimam in loco munitissimo ex una enim parte circuibat eam fluvium predictus et ex alia stagnum amplissimum et profundum ex quo stagno duo rivi, quorum uterque amnis vocari poterat, in utorque introitu ville in fluvium Sequanam derivantur et super utrumque rivum edificavit pontes et turres lapideas

Figure 22. Richard I's expenses in Normandy registered in Norman Exchequer rolls (*liv. ang.*)
(by Fanny Madeline, cartography with @arctique).

If Richard had initially intended to reinforce the episcopal manor, he ultimately transformed it into an *extra castrum* palace. Such an evolution derived from the need for space: the court and the growing royal administration were tired of the exhausting conditions of itinerancy. Richard granted audiences at Château-Gaillard, and many charters were signed there.[48] His building works for the palace on the island is a common phenomenon of the transformation of rural manors or hunting lodges into fortified dwellings or palatial complexes including religious, domestic, and political functions.[49]

Château-Gaillard should not, however, be seen as reflecting Richard's willingness to neglect Rouen, but rather as evidencing the need to protect the principal richest city of his duchy. In this perspective, Château-Gaillard is not a singular phenomenon but a major fortification included in a network for defending the Seine valley. The Norman Exchequer rolls testify to the bulk of building work undertaken in the Seine valley during the last years of the twelfth century. Whereas during Henry II's reign expenditure in the main was concentrated in Gisors and the fortress of the Vexin, during Richard's reign there is a clear shift westwards reflecting the loss of territories to Philip Augustus (Figures 21 and 22). The fortified complex of Château-Gaillard included not only the upper castle of La Roche, but also a system of bridges and outposts (mottes and towers) barring the river Seine. Bridges were often used defensively to prevent ships

et ligneas tam in introitibus quam in circuitu erexit, propugnaculis et fenestris arcubalistaribus interjectis'.

[48] Gillingham, *Richard I*, pp. 302–04.

[49] Renoux, '"Aux marches du palais"'; Renoux, '*Palatium* et *castrum* en France du nord'; Impey, 'La Demeure seigneuriale en Normandie'.

from sailing further away along the river.[50] In contrast to the tenth-century bridges on the Seine, erected to stop the drakkars by keeping them on the coast, Richard built structures upstream from Rouen in order to protect the city from the French. In front of La Culture, two bridges are mentioned in the Norman rolls in 1198. The first went through the Isle Gardon where the palace stood, up to La Culture ('pro ponte qui vadit per mediam Insulam de Gardon') and the second connected both islands on the other side ('pro ponte de inter duas insulas faciendam'). There was also a range of stockades just below the rocky spur of La Roche (Figure 20).[51] Further upstream, Richard spent 35 *liv. ang.* on repairing the bridge of Lery, and downstream he replaced the ferry of Port-Joie with a drawbridge with brattices.[52] The overall cost of building bridges on the Seine amounted to 200 *liv. ang.*[53] With the bridges, the fortified complex also comprised two other forts: La Motte Clery and Boutavant in Tosny.[54] Richard also reinforced other fortresses along the rivers Seine and Epte (Le Vaudreuil, Orival, Le Pont de l'Arche, Gamaches, Gisors) and created a new bororurgh at Port-Joie between Rouen and Les Andelys.

Even if Rouen had the same potential to become a modern capital as did Paris and London, developments in government at this time worked against the city. The constant travelling of the *curia Regis* and its corollary of the dispersal of the capital functions among other cities and suburban places were incompatible with a single fixed capital, especially in so vast an empire. The building policy inside the duchy of Normandy supports the idea that we should speak rather of a 'region-capital' in the twelfth century, as John Gillingham has proposed,[55] than of a city capital. Whereas Rouen can be conceived of as the main ducal city under Henry II, there was a shift during the reigns of Richard and John establishing the Seine valley as a central space not only inside the duchy, but also at the scale of the whole Angevin Empire.

This strongly fortified border built by Richard along the Seine valley was not, however, sufficient to prevent Philip Augustus from arriving at the gates of Rouen in June 1204. When the burgesses of Rouen opened their gates to

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[50] Brooks, 'Church, Crown and Community'.

[51] *Magni rotuli scaccarii Normanniae sub regibus Angliae*, ed. by Stapleton, ii, 310.

[52] *Magni rotuli scaccarii Normanniae sub regibus Angliae*, ed. by Stapleton, ii, 447, 449, 483–85: 'pro bretesca et ponte torneiz faciendam super pontem de Portu-Gaudii'.

[53] *Magni rotuli scaccarii Normanniae sub regibus Angliae*, ed. by Stapleton, ii, 309–10.

[54] Pitte, 'Château-Gaillard dans la défense de la Normandie'.

[55] Gillingham, *The Angevin Empire*.

the King of France, everyone knew that King John had now lost his duchy. This episode reminds us of the symbolic place of Rouen in Normandy, in contrast to Caen, or Poitiers in Poitou. The loss of Poitiers in 1202 did not result in the collapse of Angevin power in the duchy as did the fall of Rouen in Normandy; it was not until 1214 that Poitiers fell to Philip Augustus. What was then the real place of Rouen and its significance in the Angevin Empire as a whole?

Rouen and the 'Capitals' of the Angevin Empire

The contest between Rouen and Le Mans over the right to bury Henry the Young King in 1183 clearly shows that centrality was a disputed concept in the Angevin Empire.[56] If the cathedral of Rouen eventually obtained the Young King's body, Rouen had to fight off strong rivals in order to enforce its claim to be a central place in a polycentric empire. Symbolic aspects were crucial to the definition of a town's leading status, explaining why building policy is an excellent means of comparing Angevin towns. Even if Rouen was probably the city in which there was the largest range of building works patronized by the dukes (walls, gates, bridges, churches, leper houses), ducal buildings in Rouen were not so exceptional as to enable us to consider the city as 'the' capital of the Angevin Empire. In many respects, Rouen attracted similar grants to other cities of the empire. For instance, lots of main cities of the Angevin Empire also had their walls built or rebuilt during the second part of the twelfth century under the patronage of Henry II or his sons, as for example, London, Poitiers, Limoges,[57] Dublin,[58] and Bordeaux.[59] Many other towns benefited from royal subsidies, including Eu, Verneuil, La Rochelle, Colchester, Rochester, Portchester, and

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[56] *Gesta regis Henrici secundi Benedicti abbatis*, ed. by Stubbs, I, 303–04.

[57] Geoffroy de Vigeois, *Chronique*, ed. by Bonnélye, pp. 86, 121; Geoffroy de Vigeois, 'Chronicon', pp. 444, 158, 170; *Rotuli litterarum patentium in Turri Londinensi asservati*, ed. by Hardy, p. 134; *Chroniques de Saint-Martial de Limoges*, ed. by Duplès-Agier, p. 68.

[58] *Rotuli litterarum clausarum in Turri Londinensi asservati*, ed. by Hardy, I, 186a (1204–24); *Calendar of Documents Relating to Ireland*, ed. by Sweetman, no. 529; Duffy, 'Town and Crown'.

[59] *Rotuli litterarum patentium in Turri Londinensi asservati*, ed. by Hardy, pp. 125–26; Renouard, *Bordeaux sous les rois d'Angleterre*, p. 242. In Bordeaux, fortifications were constructed around the palace of L'Ombrière, around 1200 according to the *Enquête des Padouens de Bordeaux* de 1262: Boutoulle, 'Enceintes, tours, palais, et castrum à Bordeaux', citing Barckhausen, *Livre des coutumes*, p. 368: 'Quant lo rey Richard murit lo mager d'esta vila sarret de pau et de treu la plassa de l'Ombreyra'.
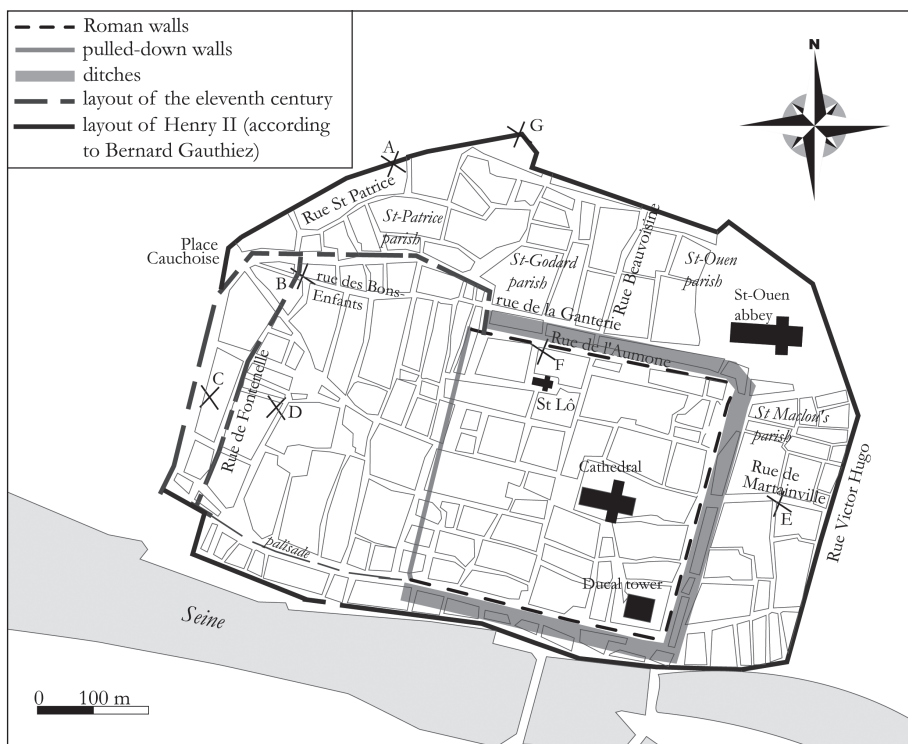
Map 9. Rouen's walls, a hypothesis (by Fanny Madeline).

Hereford, among others. Comparison with some of these towns could thus help us to evaluate the costs or at least the symbolic investment of the building of town walls in Rouen in the 1160s.

The precise layout of the wall of the twelfth century is still a matter of debate among historians and archaeologists of Rouen. Whereas there is a degree of consensus that states that the Roman wall marked the main enclosure until the late eleventh century, the precise layout of the twelfth-century walls is more widely contested. According to Bernard Gauthiez, the walls erected around the western borough, whose northern section followed the layout of the modern-day streets from the place Cauchoise to the allée Eugène Delacroix, already existed by the end of the eleventh century and were probably the work of William the Conqueror (Map 9).[60] He based this dating on the fact that the ditches of the western Roman wall were filled in during the twelfth century, strongly suggest-

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[60] See Bernard Gauthiez's paper in the volume.

ing that another wall existed further west prior to this date. This hypothesis led Gauthiez to argue that Henry II's walls, built around 1160–70, would have followed the eleventh-century ditches, extending the area enclosed from 123 to 185 acres (that is, 50 to 75 ha).[61] The present-day rue St-Patrice would then have been in the middle of the eleventh-century ditches, and Henry II's walls would have included the new parishes of St-Patrice, St-Godard, St-Ouen, and St-Maclou (Map 9). Gauthiez's hypothesis is mostly grounded on the street toponymy, as for instance, the street 'Fossés-aux-Gantiers' (now rue de la Ganterie), or the changing name of streets from 'vieille' to 'neuve', and on the old layout of the streets dating from the eighteenth century.

Recently, the historian Philippe Cailleux and the archaeologist Dominique Pitte have challenged Gauthiez's hypothesis, arguing that his interpretations followed the nineteenth-century historiography, which overinterprets the limited surviving evidence.[62] Moreover, excavations in the north-western district and details in documentary sources do not corroborate Gauthiez's hypothesis for the northern layout of the wall. First, Gauthiez argues that the part of the wall preserved in the collège Barbay d'Aurevilly (mark A on Map 9) dates from the time of Henry II, but excavations in 1993 proved that it cannot be dated to earlier than the fifteenth century. Furthermore, in 1989, excavations in the rue des Bons-Enfants (mark B) discovered remains that belong to the fourteenth-century walls,[63] and, in 1992, new excavations in the rue Fontenelle (mark C) could not find levels of occupation dating to before the twelfth century, whereas a house with romanesque structures was discovered in 1988 further east (mark D).[64] Such discoveries would thus invalidate Gauthiez's western layout for the eleventh- and twelfth-century walls as being the same as the fourteenth-century plan. It is more likely that Henry II's walls followed the rue Fontenelle that appears stratigraphically as 'a hiatus'. Philip Augustus is said to have erected an entirely new tower after seizing Rouen in 1204. This round tower was built on the elevated site of the Roman amphitheatre, *ex alteras parte civitatis*, probably to enhance his control over the city (mark G).[65] This new tower was thus

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[61] Gauthiez, 'Paris, un Rouen capétien?'; Gauthiez, 'Les Enceintes médiévales de Rouen'; Gauthiez, 'Hypothèses sur la fortification de Rouen au onzième siècle'.

[62] Cailleux, 'Le Développement urbain de la capitale normande'.

[63] Pitte, 'Une portion d'enceinte du XIVᵉ siècle', p. 92, n. 4.

[64] Pitte, Le Cain, and Calderoni, 'Les Fouilles du rectorat'; Pitte and Halbout, 'Fouilles de la rue Pie'; Pitte, 'Découverte d'une construction civile romane en pierre'.

[65] 'Chronicon Rotomagense sublatis minus necessariis', ed. by Labbe, p. 370.

isolated or built right up against a wall. How was it connected with the city? Fourteenth-century references to 'old town walls' located in the south-west of the tower suggest that they existed before the construction of the new wall.[66]

For the eastern town walls, excavations undertaken on the rue de Martainville (mark E) and the rue Victor Hugo do not show any urban occupation before the thirteenth century, suggesting that there were no walls further than the Roman walls. However, these walls and their ditches were pulled down in 1220: in October 1220, John of Cornillon obtained a tenement on the site of the old ditches between the gate of St Ouen and the river Seine.[67] Regarding the northern part, a charter granted by Henry II to the abbey of Beaubec gave the monks a tenement 'which was located near Saint-Lô of Rouen, as well as the liberty to build on *my* walls and inside, along them, as much as they wish, and the liberty of entering and exiting the city through this wall, where they will see fit, as well as forty feet of land in front of the walls and fifteen outside in the district of l'Aumône, to make accommodation two stadia twenty-eight feet long for the poor of Christ in their care, and to fix their own dwelling' (mark F).[68] According to Philippe Cailleux, this evidence goes against the assumption often repeated that the rue de l'Aumône was created after 1224, when Louis VIII granted to Rouen's citizens the ditches of the Roman wall (today the rue des fossés Louis VIII) because the ditches appear to have been already filled up in the mid-twelfth century.[69] That explains why the Roman wall is mentioned in late twelfth-century documents as 'veterum murum Rothomagi', for the northern and the eastern part, suggesting that besides the old wall there were new walls.[70]

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[66] Rouen, Arch. dép. de la Seine-Maritime, 76, 2E1/182, fols 79–80 cited by Cailleux, 'Le Développement urbain de la capitale normande'.

[67] *Fragmenta Rotuli Normanniae*, ed. by Léchaudé d'Anisy, p. 158: 'ubi videlicet murus et fossata Rothomagi fuerunt, inter portam Sancti Audoeni et aquam Sequane'.

[68] *Acta of the Plantaganets, 1154–1204*, ed. by Vincent, Everard, and Holt, no. 1702H: 'quoddam tenementum situm prope Sanctum Laudum Rothomagen et libertatem edificandi supra *murum meum* et intra in longitudine dicti tenementi ad suam voluntatem, et liberum introitum et exitum per ipsum murum ubi viderint expedire, et quadraginta pedes terre de fronte et quindecim de lato extra murum in vico elemosine ubi facient duo stadia viginti et octo ped(um) longitudine pro hospitando per manus ipsorum pauperes Cristi, et residuum retinebunt' (translations mine).

[69] Cailleux, 'Un point de l'histoire des enceintes rouennaises'.

[70] Cailleux, 'Un point de l'histoire des enceintes rouennaises', n. 9, citing Rouen, Arch. dép. de la Seine-Maritime, 26 H, box 3.

Thus, it is hard to establish where Henry II's walls stood. Nevertheless, we do know that they were strengthened at the beginning of the thirteenth century, when the French armies were about to besiege the city. In 1202, the Exchequer rolls register 75 *liv. ang.* 2 *cents* 8 pennies 'for repairing the walls of the houses and the castle bridge of Rouen and for the wood needed for the tower and everything bought for the King's work'.[71] In the patent rolls, there is also mention of wood needed to strengthen the palisade so that it would hold firm against French assaults.[72] Such a palisade was most certainly the one which faced the river Seine on the south part of the western borough, in spite of the lack of evidence to confirm the existence of such a palisade at that date. Excavation in this district suggests, however, that this place was a cesspool, frequently submerged, where previously stone houses stood in the twelfth century.[73]

At the end of the twelfth century, if we follow Gauthiez's hypothesis, Rouen's enclosed area increased from about 50 ha to 75 ha, and the new walls extended to either 1 km or 3 km in length.[74] In comparison to the size of Poitiers's wall, built around the same time, we can see that the area of Rouen was not large. According to Robert Favreau, the walls of Poitiers were 6.5 km long and included the surrounding boroughs and a large area that was later urbanized. In all, they thus included an extensive area of 500 acres (that is, 200 ha). Favreau argues that, after Poitiers's walls were destroyed in 1138 by Louis VII of France, they were rebuilt thanks to the patronage of Henry II and Eleanor of Aquitaine. He based his hypothesis on an extract of *The Chronicle of the Count of Poitiers*, in which it is written that 'King Henry and Queen Eleanor enlarged Poitiers and surrounded it with a long wall'.[75] The walls of Poitiers may even have already been rebuilt in 1173, when the revolt against the King broke out.[76]

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[71] *Magni rotuli scaccarii Normanniae sub regibus Angliae*, ed. by Stapleton, ii, 549: 'in reparatione domorum murorum et pontis castri Rothomagao et per marremio ad turrim et pro retibus emptis ad opus regis'.

[72] *Rotuli litterarum patentium in Turri Londinensi asservati*, ed. by Hardy, p. 10: 'Omnibus etc. Mandamus vobis quod permitatis cives nostros de Rothomago sine impedimento capere mereimum ad efforciendam civitatem Rothomago ubicumque illud invenerint scissum vel non scissum extra precos notros. Teste me ipso apud Pontem Archem xi die Maii': Richard, 'Réponse à l'essai sur l'époque de construction', pp. 156–57; Powicke, *The Loss of Normandy*, p. 149.

[73] Guillot, Calderoni, and Le Cain, 'L'Urbanisation d'un espace au sud-est de Rouen'.

[74] Gauthiez, 'Paris, un Rouen capétien?'.

[75] Favreau, *La Ville de Poitiers*, p. 50, despite the doubtful authenticity of the 'Fragmenta chronicorum comitu Pictaviae et ducum Aquitaniae', ed. by Martene and Durand, p. 1155: 'rex Henrcius et Alienoris regina Pictavum auxerunt longoque muro circumdaverunt'.

[76] Favreau, *Histoire de Poitiers*, p. 114.

Alfred Richard proposed the date of 1161, interpreting Robert of Torigni.[77] As in Rouen, the Angevin rulers were most generous patrons of Poitiers, especially Eleanor, who mostly lived there until 1174. They are known also to have built the ducal palace (today the justice court) and granted the famous stained-glass window of the Crucifixion in the cathedral of St Pierre, representing themselves as donors on each side of Christ crucified.[78] Under the fourteenth-century walls, archaeologists found remains that possibly date from the second half of the twelfth century according to their shape and location.[79] But these could also be the remains of the work undertaken by Philip Augustus at Poitiers in 1206.[80] Like Rouen, the wall works at Poitiers would have begun in the 1160s, at the same time as the grant of liberties; the charter granted by Eleanor in 1199 might be only a confirmation.[81] The case of Poitiers thus shows that the patronage of Rouen by Angevin kings can be compared with the patronage of other ducal cities of their territories and must be figured out in a larger scope of urban building policy.

Another famous instance of royal patronage for city walls is London. London was the only English city to receive grants of liberties during this period, despite the fact that Henry II always refused to recognize the commune of the citizens of London, established under the reign of King Stephen (1135–54). It was not until 1191, during the troubles following the departure of Richard for the Crusade, that the citizens of London reasserted their communal rights.[82] But, after his return from captivity, Richard I did not really recognize this fact. On 23 January 1194, he granted a charter to the citizens reasserting only the rights

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[77] Richard, *Histoire des comtes de Poitou*, IV, 133; Favreau, *Histoire de Poitiers*, p. 114, citing Jean Bouchet, *Les Annales d'Aquitaine*, fol. lxiii, who states 1162 was the date of the works and Henry II, the builder.

[78] Favreau, *La Ville de Poitiers*, p. 50; Pon and Chauvin, 'Chartes de libertés et de communes de l'Angoumois', p. 97, citing Suger, *Oeuvres*, ed. by Gasparri, I, 166–73. For the stained-glass window, see Perrot, 'Le Portrait d'Aliénor dans le vitrail de la Crucifixion'; Perrot, 'Le Vitrail dans les cathédrales'.

[79] Durand, 'Les Fortifications de Poitiers'; Mesqui, *Châteaux et enceintes de la France médiévale*, I, 260, 272; Mesqui, 'Les Tours à archères dans le domaine Plantagenêt français'.

[80] According to Guillaume le Breton, the King of France 'fortified the town of Poitiers and other castles he held in Poitou', and Rigord gives 1206 as the date of these works: Rigord, 'Gesta Philippi Augusti', p. 60; Rigord, *Histoire de Philippe Auguste*, ed. by Carpentier, Pon, and Chauvin, pp. 396–97.

[81] Favreau, *La Ville de Poitiers*, p. 54. The charter might be the sole confirmation.

[82] Williams, *Medieval London*, pp. 2–3; Brooke and Keir, *London, 800–1216*, pp. 45–47.

they had held under his father.[83] In this charter, the city walls are mentioned as the limits inside which the rights of the citizens were secured. According to Timothy Baker, London's walls were more than 4.2 km long, which covered an area *intra muros* of about 133 ha.[84] These walls were ancient and were opened by seven gates, as William FitzStephen told in his description of the city:

> It has on the east the Palatine Castle, very great and strong, of which the ground plan and the walls rise from a very deep foundation, fixed with a mortar tempered by the blood of animals. On the west are two towers very strongly fortified, with the high and great wall of the city having seven double gates, and towered to the north at intervals. London was walled and towered in like manner on the south, but the great fish-bearing Thames River which there glides, with ebb and flow from the sea, by course of time has washed against, loosened, and thrown down those walls.[85]

As the description suggests, these walls were damaged by the Thames flooding. King John wrote a close letter in 1206 to the city of London making a grant for the repair of the ruined walls, 'because it is our right and honour and because it is useful to your city'.[86] Some years later, in 1210, John also granted the right to take and bring all the stone and wood needed from the houses of the Jews to supply the works of the walls.[87] Then, on 2 May 1215, when

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[83] *Acta of the Plantaganets, 1154–1204*, ed. by Vincent, Everard, and Holt, nos 191H, 645R.

[84] Baker, *Medieval London*, p. 66.

[85] Ludgate, Newgate, Aldergate, Cripplegate, Bishopgate, Aldgate, and the Tower Gates: *Materials for the History of Thomas Becket*, ed. by Robertson, III, 3, 'Habet ab oriente arcem palatinam, maxima et fortissimam, cujus et arca et muri a fundamento profundissimo exsurgunt, [...] ab occidente duo castella munitissima, muro urbis alto et magno duplatis heptapylae portis intercontinuante, turrito ab aquilone per intercapedines. Similiterque ab austro Londonia murata et turrita fuit. Sed fluvium maximus piscosus, Thamesis, mari unfluo, refluoque, qui illac allabitur, moenia illa tractu temporis abluit, labefactavit, dejecit'. Trans. by C. N. L. Brooke, according to whom the last part of the description is questioned by archaeologists and historians, who came to think that the south walls were a fiction: Brooke and Keir, *London, 800–1216*, p. 114, n. 3.

[86] *Rotuli litterarum clausarum in Turri Londinensi asservati*, ed. by Hardy, I, 64: 'Baronibus suis Londonie etc. Datum est nobis intelligi quod civitas vostra Londonie multum deterioratur et de die in diem sustinet detrimentum per defectum eorum [...] Quia igitur juri et honori nostro et conveni utilitati civitatis vostre de cetero provide volumus, [...] vobis mandamus quod statim visis et auditis litteris isitis per convene consilium vostrum [...] et honori vostro et emendacioni civitatis vostre in jure civiatis tractando et in dampnis vostris restaurandis et in emenacionibus civitatis vostre ad fidem nostram faciendis'.

[87] Richardson, *The English Jewry under the Angevin Kings*, p. 170, citing *The Great Roll of the Pipe for the Thirteenth Year of the Reign of King John*, ed. by Stenton, p. 105; Round, *Feudal England*, pp. 552–57.

the barons threatened London, John commanded his forester of Havering to supply London's mayor and citizens with all the wood they needed to enclose and fortify the city.[88] Two days later, on 4 May, he gave 200 marks 'to fortify our city of London'.[89] These grants were useless, however, as the barons soon entered the city thanks to the Londoners who opened the gate to them.[90] After Runnymede, John agreed to stop fortifying the city and the Tower, which were entrusted to Stephen Langton.[91] John then asked the Londoners for all the unspent money allocated for the fortifications to be used to pay all his agents.[92] As they did at Rouen, the Angevin kings also participated in the construction of the Tower Bridge in London, certainly the most impressive building works of that time, as King John granted funds and sent his engineer, master Isembert de Saintes, to take care of technical and administrative business.[93]

Contrary to the Roman walls, the majority of these walls were built mostly with wood rather than stone. It was not until the end of the thirteenth century that civic works for rebuilding walls with stone began. But wood construction could be expensive too, as the construction of Eu's walls testifies. Eu is a town on the north border of the duchy of Normandy that Richard decided to strengthen in 1198 to protect his borders against Philip Augustus's assaults. The Norman Exchequer rolls register 5125 *liv. ang.* given to Eu's burgesses 'in operationibus ville de Augo claudende' (for the works of enclosing the town of Eu).[94] Actually, this was not a gift, but rather money given in advance against the future levy of taxes, for which the burgesses were to give account at the Exchequer.[95] This amount of money is without doubt the largest sum registered

[88] *Rotuli litterarum clausarum in Turri Londinensi asservati*, ed. by Hardy, I, 198: 'Mandamus vobis quod habere faciatis dilectis et fidelibus Majori et baroni nostri Londonie mairemium extra parcum nostrum de Haveringes in loco forestam propinquiori Londonie ad civitaem nostram London firmandam et ad muniendam et licias faciendas et ad alia qua eis fuerint necessaria facienda prout melius viderint expedire'.

[89] *Rotuli litterarum clausarum in Turri Londinensi asservati*, ed. by Hardy, I, 198: 'W. Thesaurario et G. et R. camerariis salutem. Liberate de thesauro nostro Majori et baronibus nostris de Londonie ducentum marcas ad Civiitatem nostram Londinie firmandam'.

[90] *Select Charters*, ed. by Stubbs and Davis, pp. 311–12.

[91] Brooke and Keir, *London, 800–1216*, pp. 54–55.

[92] *Rotuli litterarum clausarum in Turri Londinensi asservati*, ed. by Hardy, I, 122.

[93] *Rotuli litterarum patentium in Turri Londinensi asservati*, ed. by Hardy, p. 9 (1202).

[94] Power, *The Norman Frontier*, p. 57; *Magni rotuli scaccarii Normanniae sub regibus Angliae*, ed. by Stapleton, II, 300–01, 385–86, 419, 429, 444, 447; *Pipe Rolls of the Exchequer of Normandy*, ed. by Moss, p. 157.

[95] *Magni rotuli scaccarii Normanniae sub regibus Angliae*, ed. by Stapleton, II, 386.

for this kind of work and very likely covered the whole construction of the city walls, which were 2.8 km long (see Map 10).

Table 1. Patronage of city walls in the Angevin Empire.

Town	Length	Area Enclosed	Royal Patronage
Rouen	1 or 3 km	50 or 75 ha	1 or 3 km + wood fortifications
London	4.2 km	133 ha	wood fortifications
Poitiers	6.5 km	200 ha	partly?
Eu	2.8 km	30 ha	fiscal advance

Table 1 above and Map 10 show clearly that the fortification of the walls of Rouen was not a unique, but rather a common practice of the Angevin kings in order to improve their cities and to present themselves as guarantors of the common good and public utility. We could discuss other increases in the patronage of the kings for city walls, but we must recognize that Rouen was, even so, the city where patronage was greatest. The kings patronized not only the walls, but also monastic houses, hospitals, and ecclesiastical and civic buildings, while we can only find one or two of the former types of building in the other main cities. Despite the lack of exhaustive financial records we can easily imagine that Rouen was among the cities in which the Angevins invested the most. If most of the building works were completed in Rouen during Henry II's reign, King Richard (probably the most 'Norman' of the Angevin kings) financed the extension of the 'capitality' of Rouen to the whole Seine valley rather to Rouen itself, where he did not invest in or spend his time.[96] We thus can say that in the last quarter of the twelfth century Rouen faced a paradox: the growth of its economic significance and political autonomy went alongside the loss of its role as royal residence and the diminution of royal legal activity. This decentralization must, however, not cause us to forget that Rouen had fortifications upstream, of which the main function was to protect the city still considered as the 'caput et principatum' of the duchy. Securing the route to Rouen was of the greatest importance to Richard and John and explains the intensification of fort building upstream in the Seine valley and why the royal building policy under these kings was thus less dedicated to the city itself than to its surrounding area, where the impact of the city was becoming stronger and stronger. The place of Rouen in the geography of power in Normandy can thus be defined

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[96] Everard, 'Richard I's Itinerary'.
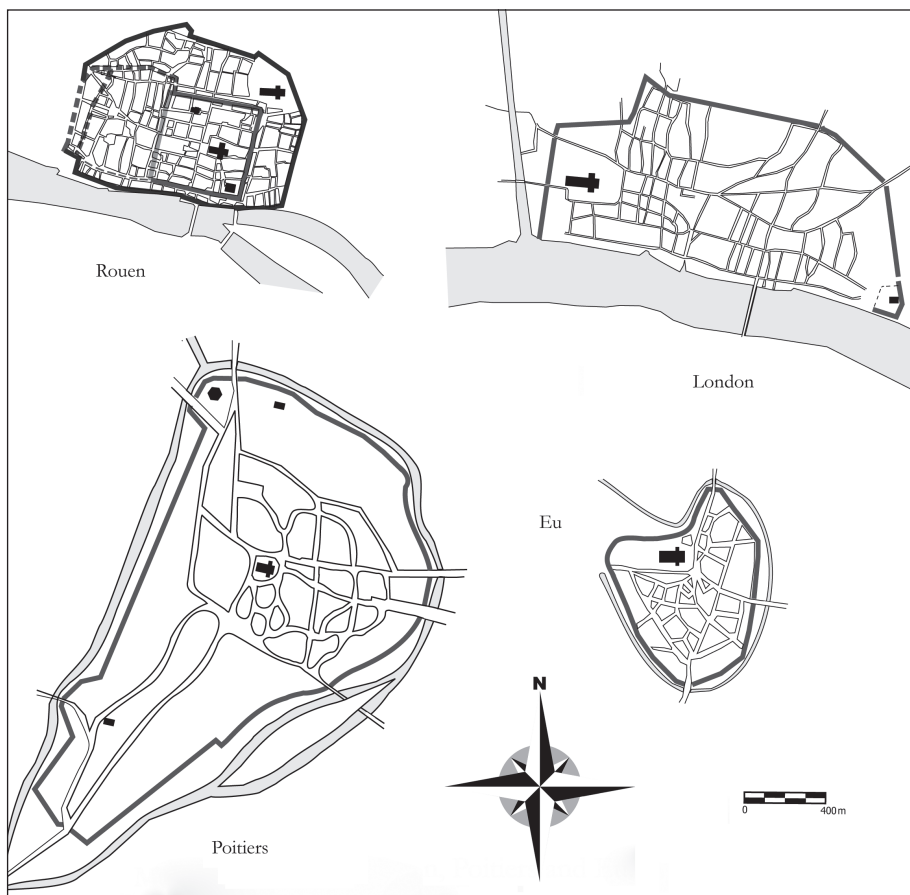
Map 10. Twelfth-century walls of Rouen, London, Poitiers, and Eu (by Fanny Madeline).

not only by the public investment of the Angevin kings but also by the fact that the loss of Normandy was inevitable when Rouen's gates were opened to the King of France after he had taken, one after the other, the strongholds continuously fortified by Richard and John. The loss of Normandy in 1204 put an end to the construction of Rouen as a capital. From the second part of the reign of Henry II its capitality, meaning its symbolical power, declined, whereas its centrality in the Angevin Empire grew, as the kings' itineraries demonstrate. The city might have been able to impose itself as the capital of the Angevin Empire, but in 1204, the central focus shifted further east, and on the model of Rouen, Paris subsequently became the capital of the French monarchy.

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Rouen as Another Rome
in the Twelfth Century

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Whereas in the early Norman period the Roman past of Rouen must have been known, authors like Dudo of Saint-Quentin and Warner of Rouen never explicitly associate the two cities in the same way as the twelfth-century authors. The historian of Normandy and the Rouen poet dazzle the reader with their expert Latin, the language of Rome, but there is no hint at the etymology of *Rodomus* as *domus Romanorum* we find a century later. Naturally, the so-called twelfth-century renaissance with its interest in classical antiquity, Roman authors, and the history of Rome is partly to blame for inventing the comparison of Rouen with Rome in the same way as other European cities were compared with the imperial capital. Nevertheless, the timing of the Norman change is intriguing and worthy of a fresh exploration of whether Empress Matilda and her husband Geoffrey of Anjou (as Duke of Normandy 1144–50) were behind the equation Rouen/Rome in various publications.

From a materialistic perspective, there is no doubt that Geoffrey and Matilda were actively involved in stimulating the wealth and economy of Rouen in the twelfth century. Their involvement was, of course, not altruistic as they were gaining a substantial income from the city. As Bernard Gauthiez has shown, Rouen increased in size from approximately 50 ha *c.* 1150 to 85 ha by the time Henry II died (1187), a growth that can be attributed to active ducal financial investment.[1] In 1145, according to Robert of Torigni's chronicle

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Geoffrey restored the wooden bridge over the river Seine, which, via the île de la Roquette, connected the left bank with the city itself on the right bank.[2] When this first bridge was built is not known, but it is interesting to note that none of Robert of Torigni's predecessors among the Norman chroniclers (Dudo of Saint-Quentin, William of Jumièges, Orderic Vitalis) refers to the bridge. There is no archaeological evidence of this early bridge, which Bernard Gauthiez thinks was a wooden one, so we rely entirely on a documentary trail.[3] The earliest document consists of a charter for Fécamp dated to 1025 which refers to the 'town's bridge' ('pons civitatis').[4] How far the '1025' bridge went back in time is unknown. David Bates suggests that it is later than the Viking invasions of the ninth and tenth centuries, while Eric Christiansen argues that Dudo's failure to mention a bridge in the context of troop movements across the Seine in the reign of Richard I suggests that there was no bridge.[5] I will return to this problem at the end of this paper.

Shortly before her death in 1167 Geoffrey's widow Empress Matilda is credited with having begun and financed the building of a stone bridge a little to the west of the site of the old bridge.[6] Given the width of the river Seine and its very strong current, such enterprise required massive investment in labour

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[2] Robert of Torigni, *Chronique suivie de divers opuscules historiques*, ed. by Delisle, I, 239; Robert of Torigni, *Chronicle*, ed. by Howlett, p. 151: 'Gaufridus dux pontem Rothomagi reficit firmissimum'.

[3] As cited in Bates, 'Rouen from 900 to 1204', p. 1.

[4] For the charter, see *Recueil des actes des ducs de Normandie*, ed. by Fauroux, p. 140, no. 36: 'a Ponte Archas usque ad pontem civitatis, et a ponte civitatis'.

[5] Bates, 'Rouen from 900 to 1204', p. 8, n. 14. and Dudo of Saint-Quentin, *History of the Normans*, trans. by Christiansen, pp. 230–31, map without bridge, with the reference to Book IV. 111 where Dudo has Richard I say in the context of a threat from Chartres: 'But since the deep water of the Seine is a barrier between us and them, and there are no ships for them to cross, he [Count Theobald] is not attempting to wage war on us at all'; Dudo of Saint-Quentin, *De moribus et actis primorum Normanniae ducum*, ed. by Lair, p. 274: 'Verum, quia altum Sequanae pelages nobis et illis obstaculum extat, navesque absunt illi quibus transeat, nullatenus nos bello lacessere tentat'. The question is, as David Bates pointed out to me in personal communication, to what extent armies would have preferred to move by ship across the Seine even if there had been a bridge. For the problems unforded and unbridged rivers posed to armies, see Morillo, *Warfare under the Anglo-Norman Kings*, pp. 115–17.

[6] Robert of Torigni, *Chronique suivie de divers opuscules historiques*, ed. by Delisle, I, 367–68, and Robert of Torigni, *Chronicle*, ed. by Howlett, pp. 232–33: 'Ad pontem etiam lapidem super Sequanam apud Rothomagum as se inchoatum multam summam pecuniae dimisit'. For historical commentary, see Haskins, *Norman Institutions*, pp. 143–45; Power, 'Angevin Normandy', pp. 81–82.

and money, which presumably would have been recouped through the income of tolls. Apart from the restoration of the bridge, Geoffrey issued an important, though now lost, charter for the citizens of Rouen regulating internal French and overseas trade, civic and merchant privileges, and guilds.[7] There is no mention of a bridge or tolls, and though there are some clauses pertaining to crossing the Seine, they do not stipulate by what means this was achieved.[8] From a military perspective the bridge was of vital importance for troop movements and cutting off from the main city any enemy approach from the south. Bridge duty would have formed a requirement by the Rouen burghers, but again we lack any documentary evidence. All the chroniclers refer to is Duke Geoffrey's restoration of the tower and fortifications of Rouen after his recovery of Normandy in 1144.[9] Taken together, however, there is no doubt about the importance of Rouen for the couple that ruled Normandy and Anjou and prepared the ground for their son Henry's later acquisition of England in 1154. Against this background the important trading privileges for the Rouen merchants, in particular with London and Ireland, in Geoffrey's charter are highly significant. After all, Rouen was the largest city in northern France and, until well into the reign of King Philip Augustus, was larger than Paris, so as a trading place and important ecclesiastical centre it was significant for its local and international contacts. The overseas trading links were vital for the wealth and riches it accumulated and bestowed importance on its citizens.

Not only did Rouen serve its rulers in that position, but the city itself could serve the prospects of its rulers in terms of propaganda and spin. We see a fair amount of this happening previously in the early eleventh century. At the time of Richard II (996–1026) and his uncle Robert, Archbishop of Rouen (989–1037), the city was a hub of foreigners celebrated in the works of its contemporary commentators Dudo of Saint-Quentin and Warner of Rouen. In their praise of the city we find references to Rome, the role model for any self-respecting city, at least on paper. As already indicated there are, however, preciously few comparisons beyond the use of the language that originated in its empire (Latin). Rome crops up in Dudo's work as the city Hastingus, the first Viking leader in his *History of the Dukes of Normandy*, aspired to conquer but then found himself in *Luna* near modern La Spezia. For Dudo, Rome was

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[7] For the reissue by his son Henry in 1150/51, see *Regesta regum Anglo-Normannorum*, ed. by Davis and others, III, no. 729, pp. 268–69.

[8] *Regesta regum Anglo-Normannorum*, ed. by Davis and others, III, no. 729, p. 269, ll. 15–16.

[9] Robert of Torigni, *Chronique suivie de divers opuscules historiques*, ed. by Delisle, I, 242, and Robert of Torigni, *Chronicle*, ed. by Howlett, p. 153.

the 'mistress of cities' and the 'head of the world'.[10] And of course he must have known, though he does not spell it out, that the romance language, French, spoken in Rouen in the time of Richard I (942–96) derived from Latin, as he refers to the language as *lingua romana* as opposed to the Scandinavian/Danish language that was still spoken in Bayeux by some descendants of the Viking conquerors.[11] Not even in the poem *Urbs luculenta* on Rouen that praises the city was Dudo inspired to compare it to Rome.[12] There is, however, a hint of a *translatio imperii* theme in Dudo's work expressed in the Hastingus story and, as Eric Christiansen has indicated, a common one amongst Frankish authors of his time, namely that Rome was conquered by Franks in the same way that Franks could be under threat by others, namely the Normans.[13] If the mistress of all cities could be conquered that tells us something about the heroism of the conquerors (Normans) and of its conquered (Franks). Dudo's contemporary, the poet Warner of Rouen, has a slightly different take on the same theme when he alludes to the former strength of Rome, as exemplified by Ilia's twins, when his protagonist Moriuth suggests that he might sire lots of (Irish) twins in order to populate an Irish army strong enough to subdue tyrannical Rome.[14] Warner ultimately is the only writer who hints at a comparison between Rouen and Rome when he mentions in *Moriuht* that the poor poet (in Rouen) can never rival Virgil in Rome.[15]

Later on in the eleventh century William of Jumièges is not remotely interested in classical Rome, judging by his removal of its epithets 'head of the world' and 'mistress amongst cities' given by Dudo. For William, presumably, Rome is the centre of the Church, but it never encouraged him to explore

[10] 'dominam gentium' and 'caput mundi': Dudo of Saint-Quentin, *De moribus et actis primorum Normanniae ducum*, ed. by Lair, I, 5–7, pp. 132–36; Dudo of Saint-Quentin, *History of the Normans*, trans. by Christiansen, pp. 18–20.

[11] Dudo of Saint-Quentin, *De moribus et actis primorum Normanniae ducum*, ed. by Lair, IV. 68, p. 221, and Dudo of Saint-Quentin, *History of the Normans*, trans. by Christiansen, p. 97.

[12] Dudo of Saint-Quentin, *De moribus et actis primorum Normanniae ducum*, ed. by Lair, IV. 90, pp. 247–48, and Dudo of Saint-Quentin, *History of the Normans*, trans. by Christiansen, p. 100.

[13] Dudo of Saint-Quentin, *De moribus et actis primorum Normanniae ducum*, ed. by Lair, I. 5, pp. 132–33, and Dudo of Saint-Quentin, *History of the Normans*, trans. by Christiansen, pp. 17–18; Dudo of Saint-Quentin, *History of the Normans*, trans. by Christiansen, p. 185, n. 93 on the notion of Franks conquering Rome with further references to tenth-century evidence.

[14] Warner of Rouen, *Moriuht*, ed. and trans. by McDonough, ll. 126–27, p. 80.

[15] Warner of Rouen, *Moriuht*, ed. and trans. by McDonough, l. 186, p. 84.

either Rome or Rouen *qua* space or landscape or city. In contrast, William of Poitiers's use of classical Roman authors, in particular Virgil and Sallust as well as Julius Caesar's own *De bello Gallico*, infused his biography of William the Conqueror, comparing him with the Roman emperor himself and presenting William's counsellors as another Roman senate.[16] The Conqueror's wife, Matilda, financed her husband's ship the 'Mora' (probably named after the Roman *fates*) and commissioned the figurehead consisting of a gilded statue of a boy: it was probably inspired by Virgil's *Fourth Eclogue*'s story of the golden child as a good omen for military victory.[17] Once crowned king, there was no shortage of imperial ideology being attributed to the Conqueror. Of particular importance is the poem *Plus tibi fama* written possibly by Godfrey, magister and chancellor of Reims (d. *c.* 1095) as early as 1070 — so well before William of Poitiers picked up his pen — in which he goes so far as to claim that William was greater than Julius Caesar.[18] Many years ago I pointed out that one of the main themes of the poems dedicated to William in the aftermath of the Conquest held out the possibility of him as emperor. As Bishop Hugh-Renard of Langres (1056–84) put it in a distich, 'Anyone who looks into the future and who is seeing you now, will conclude; you were a duke, you are a king now, and you will be an emperor'.[19] Having been a count and duke, now his position had the potential for imperial glory, the summit of earthly power.[20] A significant implication of the actual contemporary circumstances of the poems with imperial themes, however, escaped me, namely the fact that they were composed at the time of the imperial crown's vacancy in the Holy Roman Empire. Due to the Investiture conflict Pope Gregory VII (1073–85) refused to acknowledge King Henry IV (1056–1106) as emperor, let alone crown him.[21] Despite the German ruler's continued use of the imperial title and the weight of tradition that since 962 only the German kings had been selected to become emperor, it was not inconceivable that the Conqueror could be elevated himself. As is

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[16] William of Poitiers, *The Gesta Guillelmi*, ed. by Davis and Chibnall, pp. xix, 168–75.

[17] Van Houts, 'The Echo of the Conquest in the Latin Sources'.

[18] Van Houts, 'Latin Poetry and the Anglo-Norman Court', pp. 41–42, with an edition of the text on p. 57.

[19] 'Si quis in ante videt qui te circumspicit ex te | colligit, ante comes, rex modo, caesar erit': 'Chronicon sancti Huberti', ed. by Bethmann and Wattenbach, p. 577 and van Houts, 'Latin Poetry and the Anglo-Norman Court', p. 42; see also Bates, 'William the Conqueror', pp. 77–78.

[20] Van Houts, 'Latin Poetry and the Anglo-Norman Court', p. 42.

[21] The literature is vast, but see Robinson, *Henry IV of Germany*, pp. 105–235.

well known, there is no evidence for any political action in this direction for it would have been politically suicidal for William to even consider a trip to Rome. Had he not just told the German King (in 1074) that he was unavailable to help him militarily because he feared leaving his kingdom unprotected?[22] Nevertheless, some rumours circulated, which were recorded in the early twelfth century by Orderic Vitalis and William of Malmesbury, that in the early 1080s the Conqueror's half brother Odo of Bayeux (d. 1097) was canvassing the Roman nobility for his chances of becoming the next pope.[23] Clearly, Northern Europe was awash with speculation that the Norman (half) brothers aimed for a shared role in world power.

In Normandy towards the end of the eleventh century we encounter a significant testimony for the interest in Rouen's Roman past, in the form of the *Life of Romanus* written by one Fulbert 'the sinner' (*Fulbertus peccator*) about Romanus, a Merovingian Archbishop of Rouen about whom very little is known.[24] I agree with Jacques Le Maho that the text is later than the tenth century and that the author is most likely to be identified with Fulbert I, the archdeacon of Rouen Cathedral in the third quarter of the eleventh century, in contrast to the *Life*'s editor Felice Lifshitz and John Howe.[25] Composed in rhetorical Latin reminiscent of the Anglo-Saxon hermeneutic style, the *Life* is remarkably devoid of explicit chronological or geographical markers. In the present context, what is significant is Fulbert's extraordinary description of a brothel housed in the remains of the Roman amphitheatre of Rouen. He has Archbishop Romanus denounce the disreputable (heathen) behaviour of some of his contemporaries who frequented prostitutes in 'the house of Venus'.[26] This raises the interesting question of what Fulbert and his fellow Rouen citizens thought about the ruins which they correctly identified as an amphitheatre.

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[22] Bruno, *De bello Saxonico*, ed. by Schmale, p. 242; and for a commentary, see van Houts, 'The Norman Conquest through European Eyes', pp. 841–42.

[23] William of Malmesbury, *Gesta regum Anglorum*, ed. by Mynors, Thomson, and Winterbottom, I, 506–07 and II, 255–56; Orderic Vitalis, *The Ecclesiastical History*, ed. and trans. by Chibnall, II, 264–67 and IV, 38–45; also the analysis by Bates, 'The Character and Career of Odo, Bishop of Bayeux', pp. 16–17.

[24] Lifshitz, *The Norman Conquest of Pious Neustria*, pp. 234–67.

[25] Lifshitz, *The Norman Conquest of Pious Neustria*, pp. 137–41 and Howe, 'The Hagiography of Jumièges', pp. 101–07, arguing for a late tenth-century origin; Le Maho, 'Production éditoriale à Jumièges'.

[26] 'The Life of Romanus', ed. by Lifshitz, p. 248 with an English translation on p. 146; Le Maho, 'Production éditoriale à Jumièges', n. 63.

The identification is unsurprising given the much better preserved Roman amphitheatre at nearby Lillebonne.[27] The negative association of Roman antiquity with paganism and immorality is particularly interesting as we do not normally find expressions such as these relating to material remains, as opposed to Christian unease about the writings of pagan Roman authors.[28] So, if secular Rome was mentioned by Norman clergy it was in negative terms equating ruins with moral depravation.

Interesting material has survived in the specific local historiography of Rouen around the turn of the century, even though the cathedral's main source remained resolutely silent about Rome.[29] However, the monks of Saint-Ouen at Rouen compensated adequately for their secular colleagues' reticence. Amongst the audience they targeted with their attempts to trumpet the wonders of their patron saint Europe-wide were the Normans who had settled in southern Italy. According to Fulbert, the author of a set of miracles written before 1092, several Italian pilgrims travelled to Rouen.[30] Two pilgrims from Rome came to Rouen, one of whom was dumb and deaf who regained not only his Romance = Italian speech ('Romana lingua') but also miraculously spoke Norman = French (the 'Normannica lingua') 'as if he had been born with it'.[31] A third Italian pilgrim from Monte Gargano had been told by Normans in Italy that 'they were of mixed Norman and French blood as they were from Rouen, the capital and main city of the whole of Neustria', the city they recommended as it housed the shrine of Saint-Ouen.[32] The paralysed man travelled by donkey

[27] Deniaux, 'L'Antiquité', pp. 109–15.

[28] Though compare, for example, William of Malmesbury's later nuanced rationalization of which pagan authors could and could not be read with profit. For his admiration of ancient Rome in this context, see Thomson, *William of Malmesbury*, pp. 17, 26–30. I am grateful to Leonie Hicks for pointing this out to me.

[29] The *Acta archiepiscoporum Rothmagensium* are (surprisingly) silent on Rouen's Roman origins or any comparison with the eternal city; see Allen, 'The *Acta archiepiscoporum Rotomagensium*: Study and Edition'.

[30] *Miracula sancti Audoeni I*; for a commentary, see Musset, 'Recherches sur les pèlerin set les pèlerinages en Normandie', pp. 132–34.

[31] 'Nos Francorum et Normannorum mixto sanguine eruti Rothomagensem urbem incolimus, quae urbs caput et princeps est totius Neustriae regionis': *Miracula sancti Audoeni I*, pp. 826–29 (p. 829).

[32] 'vel certe quale illud esset, quod mane Romanam linguam et ipsum nec intelligibilem personabat; nunc autem Normannicam linguam et ipsam perfectam, velut in ea natus et nutritus exprimebat': *Miracula sancti Audoeni I*, pp. 828–29.

to Paris where his animal was stolen and was then given passage on a ship from Paris to Rouen where Abbot Hildebert of Saint-Ouen helpfully repeated the story of city's importance as the capital of the province which had been subjugated by the 'Norman people' (*gens Normannica*) after whom it was called Normandy. Having been cured, the Italian returned home where he publicly announced that although Rome was happy (*felix*) to claim St Peter, Normandy was no less happy to have St Ouen. In fact, the monks of Saint-Ouen seemed to have turned the efficacy of their patron saint into a weapon against the perceived brain drain of Normans emigrating to southern Italy. A late eleventh-century supplement to Fulbert's collection records the story of the pilgrim from Andria in Apulia.[33] He was told by the Normans (of southern Italy) that they had earlier subjugated the land where St Ouen produced miracles, that is Normandy. After his successful trip to Rouen (the 'metropolis Normanniae'), the pilgrim came home where he quizzed his Norman informants as to why on earth they had deserted their special patron saint St Ouen (at Rouen) for the cultivation of a foreign land so far away! We catch here a glimpse of Rouen counterpropaganda against the Normans in Italy and the claim that Normandy's capital compares quite nicely with Rome (as Italy's capital). The more sophisticated classical comparison between Rouen as a Roman foundation comes from Orderic Vitalis writing in the 1120s.[34] He is the first to draw attention to the etymology of the city's name *Rodomus* as deriving from 'the dwelling of Romans (*domus Romanorum*)' a descriptive vignette rather than civic eulogy.[35] There is no evidence for a campaign of imperial grandeur or speculation about Roman dignity in this rather sober portrayal of the Norman capital.

We have to wait until Henry I's daughter Empress Matilda to bring to Rouen ideas of empire which her husband Geoffrey and son Henry then embraced with vigour and which we can place against the background of the economic growth of Rouen with which we started. Two texts, both poems, in particular deserve our attention, and I shall discuss them in chronological order. First there is an anonymous Latin poem *Rothoma nobilis* written for Geoffrey of Anjou as Duke of Normandy which can be dated to the year 1148 (when Empress Matilda returned from England). An English translation can be found in the appendix below. The second, written in *c.* 1167/69, is the famous *Draco Normannicus* by Stephen of Rouen, monk at Notre-Dame du Pré, a priory of

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[33] *Miracula sancti Audoeni II*, p. 838.

[34] Orderic Vitalis, *The Ecclesiastical History*, ed. and trans. by Chibnall, iii, 36–37.

[35] Bates, 'Rouen from 900 to 1204', p. 1.

Bec, situated just across the river from Rouen and the very place where Empress Matilda spent the final two decades of her life.[36]

The poem *Rothoma nobilis* has survived in a fifteenth-century Old French manuscript, BnF, MS fr. 2623, fol. 114ᵛ,[37] which is a collection of texts brought together, it seems, by the French herald Gilles Le Bouvier (1386–1455).[38] Although heralds were by no means professional historians, they often did research into manuscripts and in the process collected historical and heraldic notes that one day might be of use to them. As a consequence I am confident that the herald's source is probably a now lost manuscript that he might have consulted somewhere in Normandy, probably in Rouen, where he spent some time in 1449–51 as part of the recovery of Normandy (from the English) by the French.[39] The anonymous Latin poem, consisting of twenty hexameters, praises the city of Rouen under the leadership of its duke, Geoffrey of Anjou, at a time when imperial glory is shining on them, a clear reference to the return from England to Normandy of Geoffrey's wife Empress Matilda, datable to early in the year 1148.[40] It is particularly tempting to speculate that the poem was written to celebrate the ducal family's visit to Rouen on 11 October 1148 when Geoffrey, Matilda, and their three sons were all together there as recorded in Geoffrey's charter for the Cistercian abbey at Mortemer.[41]

[36] Stephen of Rouen, *Le Dragon normand et d'autres poems*, ed. by Omont, and Stephen of Rouen, *Draco Normannicus*, ed. by Howlett, pp. 585–785. For commentaries, see Shopkow, *History and Community*, pp. 50–51, 112–16, 140–42, 209–11, 239–41; van Houts, 'Latin and French as Languages of the Past'.

[37] Printed in full in Richard, 'Notice sur l'ancienne Bibliothèque des Échevins', p. 163 and ll. 1–11; also in Haskins, *Norman Institutions*, p. 144, n. 71 (where the reference to Richard's page number suggests that he used an offprint). I am most grateful to David Bates for providing me with the full Latin text as printed by Richard, and for Gregory Fedorenko for information about the manuscript. An English paraphrase of the poem can be found in Jamison, *The Sicilian Norman Kingdom*, pp. 15–16.

[38] Bautier, 'Berry (le héraut)'; I am most grateful to Gregory Fedorenko for drawing my attention to Gilles le Bouvier.

[39] Bautier, 'Berry (le héraut)', col. 2018 who states that the text *Recouvrement de Normandie*, ed. by Stevenson cannot be attributed to him without reservation.

[40] Haskins, *Norman Institutions*, p. 144. For the date of Matilda's arrival in Normandy, see Chibnall, *The Empress Matilda*, p. 149.

[41] *Regesta regum Anglo-Normannorum*, ed. by Davis and others, iii, no. 599, p. 221 and see Chibnall, 'The Charters of the Empress Matilda', p. 295 where the date proposed in the *Regesta regum Anglo-Normannorum*, ed. by Davis and others, is corrected from 1147 to 1148; see also Chibnall, *The Empress Matilda*, p. 153.

What makes the text so fascinating is that it is one of the very few literary works that singles out Geoffrey as ruler of Normandy and sets him in a civic context. Although three years later in 1151 Robert of Torigni contemplated the necessity of an Angevin update of the *Gesta Normannorum ducum* when he sought to persuade Prior Gervase of Saint-Cénery to write a biography of Geoffrey as Duke of Normandy, it was never realized.[42] Central to *Rothoma nobilis* is the celebration of Rouen as a classical Roman foundation, whose name is in fact Rome (*Roma*) with the middle bit left out (*tho*) (l. 5). The link with Rome is not only explicit, it is also reflected in the opening words which echo the famous tenth-century poem *O Roma nobilis, orbis et domina*.[43] It celebrates the city as the capital of the Norman people (*gens*), who invited the city of Rouen to rule them, a city that now in turn is ruled by Geoffrey. Its anti-English stance ('arrogant England', l. 7) is significant, though for its time hardly surprising given Empress Matilda's failure in wrestling the throne from her cousin Stephen's grip. Equally important is the antagonism to France ('savage France', l. 7) which allows indeed a date before the Angevin reconciliation with King Louis VII from late 1149 onwards.[44] And the dig at the coldness of Scotland (l. 7) is an ambiguous reference to its climate and indifference to the Angevin cause in England. Much more significant, however, than these sentiments of antagonism is the poet's proposal for a realignment with the Normans of Southern Italy in his striking juxtaposition of Geoffrey of Anjou (Count of Anjou 1129–51; Duke of Normandy 1144–*c.* 1150) and Roger II of Sicily (Count 1105–30; King 1130–54) (ll. 11–20) as leaders of the Normans. The Normans of Rouen are credited with military feats against the Bretons, while others such as the English, Scots, and French queue to pay the Normans their due, but Roger's territory is of course the more impressive: (southern) Italy, Sicily, and (northern) Africa putting fear into the hearts of the Greeks, the Syrians, and the Persians. It is important to put the latter section into perspective as, due to a misleading paraphrase by Jamison (Roger as 'ruler of Italy and Sicily, Africa, Greece, and Syria; even Persia trembles'), historians have argued that the poem exaggerated Roger's authority in the Mediterranean.[45] This is not the case. Moreover, as far as Roger is concerned the poet conjures up other peoples who are vying for his attention by contrasting the black Ethiopians (from

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[42] *The Gesta Normannorum ducum*, ed. and trans. by van Houts, I, pp. xcii–xciii.

[43] Compare Shopkow, *History and Community*, p. 113, n. 51.

[44] Crouch, 'King Stephen and Northern France', pp. 55–56.

[45] Jamison, *The Sicilian Norman Kingdom*, pp. 15–16. For example, Abulafia, 'The Norman Kingdom of Africa', p. 48.

Africa in the south) with the white Germans from the Holy Roman Empire in 1148 under the leadership of Emperor Conrad III (1137–52) in the north.[46] Little is known about any direct contact between Anjou/Normandy and Sicily for the years when their rules overlapped as attention has mostly been focused on Anglo-Sicilian contacts.[47] In fact, such evidence as exists for contemporary attitudes in the Anglo-Norman or Anglo-Angevin lands to Roger in the late 1130s and 1140s suggests at best unease and at worst hatred against Roger II in Normandy. As Graham Loud has pointed out, this presumably had to do with the dubious status of Roger's position as newly proclaimed king in Southern Italy. Arnulf of Lisieux, a supporter of the man who lost out to the antipope who had backed Roger, in particular was scathing about him.[48] Yet it is dangerous to extrapolate from Arnulf's 1134 invective calling Roger 'that tyrant whom Sicily, the nurse of tyrants, [...] the purchaser of the empty name of king' evidence of sentiments in Rouen fourteen years later, as clearly by then our Rouen poet (on Geoffrey's behalf) made overtures to Roger in the hope of establishing, or reinvigorating, relations with him.[49] Clergy and nobility travelled between England and (southern) Italy and would have passed through Angevin lands, including Normandy.[50] Indeed, the anonymous author of *Rothoma nobilis*, who was more likely of Norman than Sicilian origin, may well have been amongst them. We cannot now reconstruct the precise reasons for Geoffrey's attempt at a rapprochement with Roger, but can perhaps speculate that it was a last ditch attempt to receive Sicilian support for his wife's cause in England.

Although any comparison between Geoffrey and Roger makes a mockery of the former's modest geographical possessions compared with the latter's

[46] For Conrad III's growing web of international alliances, including Byzantium, see Haverkamp, *Medieval Germany, 1056–1273*, trans. by Braun and Mortimer, pp. 143–45.

[47] Haskins, 'England and Sicily in the Twelfth Century'; Loud, 'The Kingdom of Sicily and the Kingdom of England'.

[48] Loud, 'The Kingdom of Sicily and the Kingdom of England', pp. 549–50, where he adds that the replacement of Rouen coinage with Roger's own silver coin in 1140 cannot have helped relations between the two regions.

[49] 'Arnulfi Sagiensis archidiaconi', ed. by Dietrich, p. 107, and Loud's commentary, Loud, 'The Kingdom of Sicily and the Kingdom of England', p. 549.

[50] For some English and Norman men working in Southern Italy, see Loud, 'The Kingdom of Sicily and the Kingdom of England', p. 550. Though women should not be overlooked, e.g. Elisabeth (or Isabelle), daughter of Theobald IV of Blois-Chartres, widow of Duke Roger of Apulia, who returned to France to marry William IV of Gouet on the southern fringe of Normandy: see Thompson, 'The Formation of the County of Perche', p. 306.

huge wealth, in one respect the two can be comfortably set side by side. Both Geoffrey and Roger were known as men of intellectual ambition, interested in knowledge, especially of the natural world around them, and collectors of books.[51] Both also are known to have been actively engaged in education and dissemination of learning; therefore it is no wonder then that both men did attract writers in search of patronage.[52] In the context of this paper the Norman town of Conches (Eure) produced two men with particular ties to Geoffrey of Anjou as Duke of Normandy. The first is the Norman philosopher William of Conches (d. after 1154), who described himself as 'born in a country of mut-tonheads (*uerueces*) under the dense sky of Normandy', a reference (in language inspired by Juvenalis) to his birthplace Conches near Évreux.[53] Expelled from Chartres due to his adherence to the Platonic tradition, William was given ref-uge by Geoffrey after he had become Duke of Normandy, very likely in 1148 and probably in the capacity of tutor to his sons, as he describes the Duke as imbuing his sons with liberal arts instead of allowing them to play dice.[54] Like his older contemporary Adelard of Bath (d. *c*. 1154), William was deeply inter-ested in nature and its workings, something that made him suspicious in the eyes of the church authorities (especially bishops) for whom the Bible was the source of all truth. William was directly inspired by Adelard (imbued by Arabic learning), whose *Natural Questions* he used extensively for his revision of the *Philosophia* (written in the early 1120s). He added one book in two parts on earth (that is, the planet) and man (that is, human biology) and gave the whole work a new title *Dragmaticon*.[55] As part of this revision, undertaken while under

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[51] For Roger II as an intellectual, see Houben, *Roger II of Sicily*, pp. 98–113. For Geoffrey, see John of Marmoutiers, *Historia Gaufredi ducis Normannorum*, ed. by Halphen and Poupardin, pp. 172–231 which on p. 218 draws attention to Geoffrey's ownership of Vegetius, *De re mili-tari*; see also Gillingham, 'The Cultivation of History, Legend, and Courtesy', pp. 34–35.

[52] For a recent exploration of teachers, mentors, and nurses at Geoffrey's court, see Dutton, '*Ad erudiendum tradidit*'.

[53] William of Conches, *Dragmaticon Philosophiae*, ed. by Ronca, Badia, and Pujol; William of Conches, *A Dialogue on Natural Philosophy*, trans. by Ronca and Curr. For the quote, see William of Conches, *A Dialogue on Natural Philosophy*, trans. by Ronca and Curr, vi. 1, ll. 10–11 (p. 179 text, p. 119 translation).

[54] William of Conches, *A Dialogue on Natural Philosophy*, trans. by Ronca and Curr, i. 1, l. 5 (p. 5 text, p. 4 translation). For the date of William's stay at Geoffrey's court, see William of Conches, *Dragmaticon Philosophiae*, ed. by Ronca, Badia, and Pujol, pp. xx, xvii.

[55] Cochrane, *Adelard of Bath*; Adelard of Bath, *Conversations with his Nephew*, ed. and trans. by Burnett.

Geoffrey's protection, he shaped his text into a dialogue between a philosopher (presumably himself) and a duke (presumably Geoffrey).[56] Despite this literary fiction, the question-and-answer format projects an image of intimate exchange of thought between a keen interested layman and a learned scholar, who occasionally injects surprising detail about the Duke, for example, the inscription over the gate of one of his castles or his concern for his sons' education discussed above.[57] Judging by the number of eighty-one surviving manuscripts, the book remained very popular.[58] Little is known of William's background other than his birthplace Conches. However, given his status as Geoffrey's protégé it is extremely interesting to find someone else from Conches in the Count/Duke's entourage. Several charters of Geoffrey and his son Henry are witnessed by a Simon of Conches, though none of them were issued at Rouen, where most of Geoffrey's charters originated.[59] Geoffrey's charter for Fulk de la Roussière, which rewards him handsomely for service done in battle, singles out from its witnesses Simon of Conches, who is said to have been given a mantle. Cloaks, mantles, or garments were amongst the most common of princely gifts as tokens of thanks or rewards for service, so we should not read too much into this particular instance. Yet, if we bear in mind that one service, the writing of praise poetry, was so often rewarded with mantles that it generated a specific genre of verse, Simon's act on this particular occasion (a ruler rewarding a

[56] William of Conches, *Dragmaticon Philosophiae*, ed. by Ronca, Badia, and Pujol, pp. xxiii–xxiv; Adelard himself was also involved in the education of Henry of Anjou, Duke of Normandy (1050–89) and King of England (1154–89), to whom in 1150 he dedicated his *De opere astrolapsus*. Burnett, *The Introduction of Arabic Learning into England*, pp. 31–60 (p. 34); compare Dutton, *'Ad erudiendum tradidit'*, pp. 26–27.

[57] I would like to acknowledge Lugton, 'Lay Aristocracy and Intellectual Curiosity', pp. 34–49 as source for the details on the dialogue form of the *Dragmaticon*. For the reference to the (unattributed) inscription over the castle gate ('Hodie malum, sed cras peius', 'Bad today but worse tomorrow'), see William of Conches, *Dragmaticon Philosophiae*, ed. by Ronca, Badia, and Pujol, ii, prologue, pp. 21, 33–34.

[58] William of Conches, *Dragmaticon Philosophiae*, ed. by Ronca, Badia, and Pujol, pp. xxxii–lxxi.

[59] *Regesta regum Anglo-Normannorum*, ed. by Davis and others, iii, no. 21, p. 8 (for Abbey of St Sergius at Angers, given at Amboise 1152); no. 323, p. 122 (for St Martin at Fontaine, given at Baugé, September 1151 × March 1152); no. 408, p. 156 (for the Hospitallers, given at Mirebeau after Easter 1147); and no. 1007, pp. 372–73 (for Fulk de la Roussière, given at Baugé between 1144 and 1150); for Rouen as city of origin for many of Geoffrey's charters, see Haskins, *Norman Institutions*, p. 143.

knight for services at battle) may have been the composition of a praise poem.[60] It surely, however, would take the speculation too far to attribute to this Simon the praise poem for Geoffrey portraying him side by side with Roger II as sons of Rouen. Alas, for now the poet will have to remain anonymous. It is significant, however, that the 'loss of England' in Normandy sparked off notions of imperial glory and a concerted effort to look south to the court of that other Norman King, Roger. The presence of poets and scholars at Rouen helped to shape this policy by providing intellectual justification for the court's ambition.

Whereas in *Rothoma nobilis* the attention is focused on Rouen, Geoffrey, and Roger II of Sicily, in the much longer poem *Draco Normannicus* written shortly after 1167 by Stephen of Rouen, monk of Bec, the central figures are Empress Matilda and her son Henry II.[61] The poem is often discussed in the context of Norman Latin historiography as the last work written as celebration of the dukes of Normandy. But there is much more to it than the section, roughly one quarter of the whole poem, that deals with dynastic history. The largest part is devoted to other subjects, such as the 'translatio imperii' from Rome to the Carolingians and from the Carolingians to the Capetians; the relations between Henry II and Louis VII of France (1137–80), inspired by the contested ownership of the priory of Poissy between Stephen's abbey of Bec and Molesmes; the papal schism in the 1160s; and the wars in Brittany in the 1150s and 1160s in the context of which the famous (fictitious) correspondence between Henry II and the (mythical) King Arthur is exchanged. The poet was close to Empress Matilda and is usually identified with 'the monk of Bec' (*Beccense monachus*) who was sent to announce the Empress's death to her son Henry II on campaign in Brittany.[62] Given Stephen's close relationship with the Empress it is likely that he spent at least some time at Bec's priory Notre-Dame du Pré, Matilda's retirement home, across the river Seine from the city of Rouen, while she was still alive. With Stephen's pen, the Roman credentials of Rouen, as we know them from the words of Fulbert the sinner, Orderic Vitalis, and the poet of *Rothoma nobilis*, were exploited beyond measure for the ultimate Latin celebration of its glory under the Angevins. Rouen is consist-

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[60] *Regesta regum Anglo-Normannorum*, ed. by Davis and others, iii, no. 1007, p. 372, ends with Simon's attestation as 'Sim[on] de Castell[ione] qui mantellum recepit'. For mantle poems, see Latzke, 'Der Topos Mantelgedicht'.

[61] Stephen of Rouen, *Le Dragon normand et d'autres poems*, ed. by Omont and Stephen of Rouen, *Draco Normannicus*, ed. by Howlett, pp. 585–785.

[62] Stephen of Rouen, *Draco Normannicus*, ed. by Howlett, ii. 23, l. 1284, p. 708; compare Chibnall, *The Empress Matilda*, p. 173.

ently referred to as the imperial city (*Caesaris urbem*), to distinguish it from other Norman towns with connections to Julius Caesar: Cherbourg (*Caesaris burgum*) and Lillebonne (*Julia – bona*) and whose name, as we have already heard from Orderic Vitalis (see above), was derived from the foundation by the Romans ('the dwelling of Romans').[63] Laudatory lines on the city, included in Book I c. 18, are reminiscent of those in *Rothoma nobilis*.[64] Not only is the city of Rouen compared throughout with Rome, but the classicizing trend extends to the main protagonists, so William the Conqueror is compared with Julius Caesar and Alexander the Great, and Henry II is described as 'another Julius [Caesar]' ('alter Julius').[65] Much is made of Matilda's gift of imperial glory to Rouen — another theme of *Rothoma nobilis*: Emperor Henry V (*imperator*) married Matilda and had her crowned in Rome, a distortion of historical truth as she was never crowned there.[66] The adjective 'imperial' crops up in various ways, reminiscent of the imperial honour ('imperialis honorificentia') in *Rothoma nobilis*,[67] to describe Matilda as spouse of Geoffrey ('imperialis conjunx') — and interestingly not of Henry V — the splendour or honour she bestows on others ('imperii splendor/honor'), and her body after death.[68] If Matilda herself took with her the imperial title and deployed it to maximum effect in her widowhood, from 1126–28 onwards,[69] she had in Stephen of Rouen a devoted monk/poet who exploited it to maximum effect by adding to Rouen an extra layer of imperial heritage on top of the historical Roman one.

But in his *laudatio* of Rouen Stephen did far more for his audience that consisted of loyal Rouen supporters of Matilda's son and heir Henry II. In my final section I would like to return to the city as it emerged from the political

[63] Stephen of Rouen, *Draco Normannicus*, ed. by Howlett, I. 8, ll. 265, 273–76, pp. 601, 602.

[64] Stephen of Rouen, *Draco Normannicus*, ed. by Howlett, I. 18, ll. 771–72, p. 620: 'urbs antique, potens, populosa, decora, jocunda, | divitiis pollens, nobilitate, situ'; compare Haskins, *Norman Institutions*, p. 144, n. 71: 'Rothoma nobilis, urbs antique, potens, speciosa'.

[65] Stephen of Rouen, *Draco Normannicus*, ed. by Howlett, I. 19, ll. 1387–90, p. 643.

[66] Stephen of Rouen, *Draco Normannicus*, ed. by Howlett, I. 4 title of chapter, and compare ll. 173–74, p. 597; I. 9, p. 604 (Henry II); Chibnall, *The Empress Matilda*, pp. 2, 32–33.

[67] Haskins, *Norman Institutions*, p. 144, n. 71.

[68] 'imperialis conjunx': Stephen of Rouen, *Draco Normannicus*, ed. by Howlett, I. 6, ll. 219–20, p. 599; III. 2, l. 69, p. 714; 'imperii splendor/honor': I. 2, l. 127, p. 596; I. 5, l. 201, p. 598; and 'pro corporis imperialis', III. 2, l. 99, p. 715.

[69] Chibnall, *The Empress Matilda*, p. 70, n. 26 where she considers that *Regesta regum Anglo-Normannorum*, ed. by Davis and others, III, no. 898, p. 71 is the earliest charter dated to 1126–28 in which she styles herself 'Empress'.

and economic injections given by Geoffrey and Matilda, which I have noted at the start of this paper. As we have seen, one of the crucial acts of the couple was the reparation of the old bridge and, later, the construction of a new one that connected Rouen on the north bank of the river with its suburbs, including Notre-Dame du Pré, on the south bank. We have also noted that the dating of the earliest bridge is unclear, that there was one by the end of Richard II's reign in 1025, and that the evidence from Dudo's work for the absence of a bridge in the reign of Richard I (946–96) is ambiguous.[70] The question of the bridge's origin is intriguing because Stephen of Rouen makes much of a bridge at Rouen in his account of the arrival of Rollo and his companions. Amongst Stephen's sources are undoubtedly both Dudo of Saint-Quentin's *De moribus* and the *Gesta Normannorum ducum* as revised by Robert of Torigni, Stephen's contemporary. Neither source, nor any other saint's life or set of annals, contains a description of Rollo's arrival at Rouen mentioning a bridge. It seems likely, therefore, that in his verse narrative of the Vikings' invasion Stephen was depicting the city as he knew it. The narrative goes as follows. The Frankish king Charles (the Simple) is preparing for battle against Rollo with numerous troops but a lack of military *probitas* (quoting explicitly Vegetius's *De re militari*).[71] In contrast the Danes are virtuous and victorious, and in the same way the Franks subdued Rome, now the Danes subdue the Franks, a theme that is taken from Dudo (see above).[72] The Danish fleet advances on Rouen, variously called *Caesaris urbs* or *Rodomum*,[73] the famous city, created from Roman seed; the hills and forest surround the city; its walls, towers, and gates are deserted (by the Rouen inhabitants).[74] Rollo addresses his army, encouraging his men to take the *Caesaris arces*, and then splits his army in two parts one of which he directs to take the bridge.[75] There follows with thunderous noise a clash of arms when Danes and burghers of Rouen (*cives*, *armati cives*)

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[70] On Franks and Danes subduing Rome, see Stephen of Rouen, *Draco Normannicus*, ed. by Howlett, ll. 741–42, and above, p. 104.

[71] The quote from Vegetius, *De re militari*, i, c. i can be found in Stephen of Rouen, *Draco Normannicus*, ed. by Howlett, i. 17, ll. 715–16, p. 618.

[72] Stephen of Rouen, *Draco Normannicus*, ed. by Howlett, i. 17, ll. 740–41, p. 619.

[73] Stephen of Rouen, *Draco Normannicus*, ed. by Howlett, i. 17, ll. 751, 755, 756, etc., p. 619.

[74] Stephen of Rouen, *Draco Normannicus*, ed. by Howlett, i. 18, ll. 769, 781, 785, p. 620.

[75] Stephen of Rouen, *Draco Normannicus*, ed. by Howlett, i. 18, ll. 790–818, 815 (*caesaris arces*), 824–28, pp. 620–21.

catch sight of each other.[76] Rollo sails his fleet underneath the bridge (*pontem substrat*), inspects the banks of the river on the city side, and tells his men to spare the burghers.[77] He then turns round past the bridge again and on the (same) western bank (*Occasum locus*) he finds a suitable landing place where the meadows still bear the name of the battle.[78] Incidentally, at this place in the narrative Stephen transfers the story of William Longsword's battle at Pré-de-la-Bataille (in 932) to Rollo's time.[79] Belief in Jesus, and not Jupiter or fate (adds Stephen), allows Rollo to be victorious.[80] From this moment of Rollo's christianization the Viking leader is referred to as *dux* (duke/leader), following the lead of the *Gesta Normannorum ducum*.[81] The battle in the meadows having been won, Rollo now gradually moves in on the city, while others of his fleet attack the bridge that needs taking.[82] For Stephen's narrative to make sense we must realize that all fighting takes place on the west (that is, north) bank where the city lies, and that there is no mention of soldiers embarking on the east (that is, south) bank and then crossing the Seine bridge. The poem continues: from two sides — on the west bank — Rollo gradually encircles the city and its burghers. The walls are taken, some burghers are driven back into the city, and others die on the river banks.[83] Treasure is taken back into the city, and orders are issued that no burning or slaughter takes place.[84] After the victory Rollo negotiates with King Charles. and from here the story, more or less, follows the lines of the early Norman chroniclers.

Why then, as others have noted too, is Stephen's account of Rollo's conquest of Rouen so different from the early narratives of Dudo and the *Gesta*

[76] Stephen of Rouen, *Draco Normannicus*, ed. by Howlett, I. 18, ll. 828, 831, p. 622.

[77] Stephen of Rouen, *Draco Normannicus*, ed. by Howlett, I. 18, ll. 833, 839, p. 622.

[78] Stephen of Rouen, *Draco Normannicus*, ed. by Howlett, I. 18, ll. 840–46, p. 622.

[79] Compare Stephen of Rouen, *Draco Normannicus*, ed. by Howlett, p. 622, n. 1. See also Dudo of Saint-Quentin, *De moribus et actis primorum Normanniae ducum*, ed. by Lair, III. 44, pp. 188–89; Dudo of Saint-Quentin, *History of the Normans*, trans. by Christiansen, p. 66; and for a discussion of the conflicting evidence of which battle site this is, see p. 200, n. 246; Christiansen's map 1 on p. 231 marks the site to the west of the city. See also Prentout, *Étude critique sur Dudon de Saint-Quentin*, p. 300.

[80] Stephen of Rouen, *Draco Normannicus*, ed. by Howlett, I. 18, ll. 870–84, p. 623.

[81] Stephen of Rouen, *Draco Normannicus*, ed. by Howlett, I. 18, ll. 863, p. 622. Compare *The Gesta Normannorum ducum*, ed. and trans. by van Houts, I, 68–69.

[82] Stephen of Rouen, *Draco Normannicus*, ed. by Howlett, I. 18, ll. 868–79, p. 623.

[83] Stephen of Rouen, *Draco Normannicus*, ed. by Howlett, I. 18, ll. 840–46, p. 622.

[84] Stephen of Rouen, *Draco Normannicus*, ed. by Howlett, I. 18, ll. 889–91, p. 623.

Normannorum ducum? First, it is important to note the obvious: namely that none of these authors could possibly have known the details of Rouen's capture (whenever it actually took place in the late ninth century) as they all wrote much later.[85] Second, it is striking that Stephen's Rollo and his Danes are mostly considered 'chivalric' conquerors who save lives and prevent fires; they are not the plundering and marauding pagans we encounter in the contemporary monastic annals. Third, knowing the topography of Rouen in his own days (*c.* 1169) he seems to turn Dudo's and *Gesta Normannorum ducum*'s vague details into a coherent narrative, especially given the strategic position of the bridge across the Seine at Rouen. By placing the Pré-de-la-Bataille story at the time of Rollo's arrival (and not in the time of William Longsword), he allowed Rollo to emerge as victor from a combination of a land and river battle west of the city that gave him the city, while saving the bridge, key to its defence and prosperity. In shaping his narrative as he did, Stephen may well have taken his cue from Vegetius, *De re militari*, which at one place he quotes.[86] The ultimate Roman text book for military commanders, including as we have seen Geoffrey of Anjou, who possessed a copy, contains in Book III sound advice on suitable sites for (land) battles and river crossings but, interestingly, has nothing to say about taking bridges. Stephen's narrative of the Viking siege of Rouen was an updated, chivalric, and classicized version of Rollo's taking of the Norman capital for an audience that by Henry II's time was more interested in its city as the centre of the Angevin Empire, conscious of its Norman roots, but above its Roman and imperial glory.

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[85] This point is not raised in Bachrach, 'Dudo of St Quentin and Norman Military Strategy', p. 31.

[86] The library of Bec had recently received a copy as part of the book collection given by Philip de Harcourt, Bishop of Bayeux (d. 1164); see Nortier, *Les Bibliothèques médiévales des abbayes bénédictines*, pp. 42–43, 230.

Appendix

Translation of 'Rouen' poem *Rothoma nobilis*

Noble Rouen, ancient city, mighty and
    beautiful,
The Norman people put you in charge of them;
Imperial honour adorns you;
Like Rome you are, in reputation and in name,

Remove the middle [Ro 'tho' ma]
    and Rouen becomes Rome.
Conquered Brittany, subdued by your army,
    is a servant;
The arrogant English, the cold Scots,
    and savage French
Beg to pay you what they owe.
Under Duke Geoffrey the enemy was slain,
    weapons are idle;

Duke Geoffrey, whose name is known
    by all as 'joy'[87]
In such ruler fortunate Rouen rejoices.
Sprung from you of famous Norman blood,
Rules Roger victorious, wise, and wealthy
You mighty Roger, you greatest glory
    amongst kings;

You conquered Italy and Sicily, and Africa;
Greece and Syria are afraid of you, as is Persia[88]
Black Ethiopia and white Germany return[89]
To seek your command and your protection.
True faith bestows on you the large sceptre;

You alone are worthy to rule the world.

Rothoma nobilis, urbs antique, potens,
    speciosa,
Gens Normanna sibi te preposuit dominari;
Imperialis honorificentia te super ornate;
Tu Rome similis tam nomine quam probitate,

Rothoma, si mediam removes,
    et Roma vocaris.
Viribus acta tuis devicta Britannia
    servit;
Et tumor Anglicus et Scotus algidus
    et Galo sevus
Munia protensis minibus tibi debita solvent.
Sub duce Gaufredo cadit hostis et arma
    quiescent,

Nominis ore sui Gaufredus gaudia
    fert dux;
Rothoma letaris sub tanto principe felix,
Ex te progenitus, Normanno sanguine clarus,
Regnat Rogerus victor, sapiens, opulentus.
Tu Rogere potens, tu maxima Gloria
    regum;

Subditur Ytalia et Siculus, tibi suditur Afer;
Grecia te timet et Syria, et te Persia veretur;
Ethiopes, albi, Germania, Nigra, requrrunt
Te dominante sibi, te protectore, tueri.
Vera fides et larga manus tibi septra dedere;

Te dignum imperio solum aijudicat orbis.

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[87] 'gaufredus: *gau*dia *fer*t *dux*'. This etymology is suggested by Jamison, *The Sicilian Norman Kingdom*, p. 16.

[88] Jamison, *The Sicilian Norman Kingdom*, p. 16: 'ruler of Italy and Sicily, Africa, Greece and Syria; even Persia trembles'. This erroneous paraphrase has unfortunately misled historians who saw this as Rouen propaganda of Roger II as victor of a much wider world than the poem warrants, for example, Abulafia, 'The Norman Kingdom of Africa', p. 48.

[89] Jamison, *The Sicilian Norman Kingdom*, p. 16: 'even the bright skies of Ethiopia and the dark gloom of Germany seek protection'.

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Through the City Streets: Movement and Space in Rouen as Seen by the Norman Chroniclers

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According to accepted tradition, Charles the Simple, King of France, set-tled Rollo and his Vikings in the region between the river Epte and the sea with their territory centred on the city of Rouen, seat of the Carolingian counts and metropolitan church. Rollo and his descendants made their home in Rouen, built castles, endowed the cathedral and monastic houses, and helped establish it as one of the leading cities in France. It is no wonder then that the chroniclers portrayed Rouen as a thriving and prosperous city. Dudo of Saint-Quentin (writing 996–*c.* 1020) was the first to emphasize its spaciousness and wealth in terms of money and resources.[1] The worth of the Norman war-riors, those who actually walked the streets of this 'city more fecund than many another', and the importance of the Seine, which provided a peaceful harbour and enriched Rouen 'with its cheerful traffic' are recurrent themes.[2] Rouen was

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[1] Dudo of Saint-Quentin, *De moribus et actis primorum Normanniae ducum*, ed. by Lair, pp. 224, 247–48, 272–73, 276; Dudo of Saint-Quentin, *History of the Normans*, trans. by Christiansen, pp. 100, 122, 197, 150.

[2] 'O civitas fecundior quam pluribus': Dudo of Saint-Quentin, *De moribus et actis primorum Normanniae ducum*, ed. by Lair, p. 272; Dudo of Saint-Quentin, *History of the Normans*, trans. by Christiansen, p. 147; 'Labentis jocundis usibus affluentur amnis': Dudo of Saint-Quentin, *De moribus et actis primorum Normanniae ducum*, ed. by Lair, p. 276; Dudo of Saint-Quentin, *History of the Normans*, trans. by Christiansen, p. 150.

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a cosmopolitan city, a meeting place of 'the Belgian, Celt, and Angle'.[3] Orderic Vitalis, writing in the early twelfth century (1114–*c*. 1140), also described the city as populous, wealthy, and a meeting place.[4] Again, he emphasized Rouen's abundant resources, in terms of both the centre itself and its periphery, the suburbs, and fertile land around it. Above all, Rouen was beautiful, whether it was 'bright with sanctified knighthood',[5] 'fair to behold with its mansions and houses and churches',[6] or 'a fine burg with many dwellings; with clergy and burgesses and rich markets and numerous well-equipped barons'.[7] All the chroniclers stress the potential for freedom of movement and the city's dynamism in their descriptions. Here, I will explore what that meant in terms of their conception of city space, how Rouen functioned spatially as a community, and what it can tell us about wider political and social relations.

In the main, studies of the use of space have focused on buildings and interiors — castles, churches, religious houses, and so on.[8] Excepting landscape archaeology, previous work relating to conceptions of what we might call 'outdoor space' has focused mainly on institutions, ideas, or visible markers.[9] Although this research has added significantly to our knowledge of how medieval space was created and used, questions regarding what brought peo-

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[3] 'Belgicus, et Celticus, Anglicus': Dudo of Saint-Quentin, *De moribus et actis primorum Normanniae ducum*, ed. by Lair, p. 224; Dudo of Saint-Quentin, *History of the Normans*, trans. by Christiansen, p. 100.

[4] 'Rodomensis ciuitas populis est ac negociorum commerciis opulentissima, portus quoque confluentia': Orderic Vitalis, *The Ecclesiastical History*, ed. and trans. by Chibnall, III, 36–37.

[5] 'micans milite sacro': Dudo of Saint-Quentin, *De moribus et actis primorum Normanniae ducum*, ed. by Lair, p. 247; Dudo of Saint-Quentin, *History of the Normans*, trans. by Christiansen, p. 122. The term 'miles' is contested. See Bachrach, 'Dudo of St Quentin as an Historian', p. 170 and Lieberman, 'Knighthood and Chivalry in the Histories of the Norman Dukes', p. 132.

[6] 'moeniis et aedificiis domorum ac basilicarum pulcherrima': Orderic Vitalis, *The Ecclesiastical History*, ed. and trans. by Chibnall, III, 36–37.

[7] 'vit beau borc herbegié | vit clers et vit borjoiz et vit riche marchié | vit le barnage grant et bien appareillié': Wace, *The Roman de Rou*, trans. by Burgess, part II, ll. 3370–72, pp. 86–87.

[8] The bibliography on medieval use of space is growing. On sacred space, see, for example, Cassidy-Welch, *Monastic Spaces and their Meanings*; Hayes, *Body and Sacred Space in Medieval Europe*; and Hicks, *Religious Life in Normandy*. On castles, see particularly Dixon, 'Design in Castle Building'; Hicks, 'Magnificent Entrances and Undignified Exits'; Renoux, 'Espaces et lieux de pouvoirs royaux'.

[9] Recent studies include Jean-Marie, *Caen aux XIᵉ et XIIᵉ siècles*; Harrison, *Medieval Space*; Camille, 'Signs of the City'; and Camille, 'At the Sign of the "Spinning Sow"'.

ple outside, movement through space, and the consequent potential of it to create social relations have been neglected.[10] I have previously considered the movement of people through and around Normandy on a broader scale,[11] but by examining chroniclers' accounts of Rouen we can understand better how they linked the city with the duchy as a whole and the Anglo-Norman realm. Movement allows us to see different places and spaces more clearly, particularly the interaction of centres and peripheries, as it was the point at which the centre met the periphery that it became most visible.[12] Rouen took centre stage when something happened to bring it to the attention of the chroniclers, and these episodes are invariably associated with journeys or movement of some kind. In this chapter, I will consider several events. First, the descriptions of the city during the reign of Richard I (942–96), including Richard's arrest by King Louis IV d'Outremer (936–54) and Louis's attempted invasion. Second, I will discuss two rebellions and riots: the revolt against Robert Curthose (1087–1106) in 1090 and a riot in Rouen Cathedral in 1119. A series of processions will form the final part of the discussion. These sections allow us to see the different and, at times, competing groups within the city (the citizens, ducal court, various religious communities, and visitors), the links between Rouen and its neighbours, both internally and externally, and political relationships within the duchy of Normandy and without.[13]

The chroniclers I use here range from the earliest surviving history of the Normans written by Dudo of Saint-Quentin to Wace's *Roman de Rou*.[14] Dudo was commissioned initially to write a history of the earliest Norman rulers by Richard I. After Richard's death, he continued under the patronage of his son Duke Richard II (996–1026). William of Jumièges, writing mainly in the mid-eleventh century continued Dudo's history in the *Gesta Normannorum ducum*, altering it as he added or subtracted passages to make it more suitable for his monastic audience. This chronicle was then interpolated by several other

[10] Horden, 'Introduction'.

[11] Hicks, 'Coming and Going'.

[12] Harrison, 'Invisible Boundaries and Places of Power', p. 91.

[13] I note that there were many other groups within Rouen during the period under consideration, notably the sick poor and the Jewish community. See the essays by Elma Brenner on the care of the sick and with Leonie Hicks on the Jews in this volume.

[14] There is an extensive bibliography on Norman historical writing. See for example Albu, *The Normans in their Histories*; Shopkow, *History and Community*; and also the extensive work of Elisabeth van Houts, many of whose articles on Norman historical writing can be found in van Houts, *History and Family Traditions in England*.

authors, notably Orderic Vitalis and Robert of Torigni. By far the most extensive history is, of course, the *Ecclesiastical History* of Orderic Vitalis, written over a period of around twenty years and ending shortly before Orderic's death some time after 1141. The *Ecclesiastical History* began as an account of the foundation of the monastery of Saint-Évroult and rapidly expanded to encompass most aspects of Norman life as well as the broader history of Christendom. Wace's *Roman de Rou* differs from the other chronicles in two important respects. Firstly, it is a poem, and secondly it is written in the vernacular, rather than in Latin. It was initially commissioned as a continuation of the *Gesta* tradition by King Henry II of England (1154–89) but remained unfinished as Henry lost patience with Wace's slow progress and passed the task on to Benoît of Sainte-Maure (who also failed to finish). It is important to note here that William of Poitiers's *Gesta Guillelmi* gives very little detail in terms of descriptions of Rouen and the movement of people within it, probably because he was writing the biography of a single duke — William the Conqueror (1035–87) — and other events, notably the conquest of England in 1066, were far more important in his narrative.[15]

Relations with France: The City Facing Out

The land that became the duchy of Normandy was seen as highly desirable, both by Rollo and his descendants and also by other interested parties. Rouen was the glittering prize at the centre of this territory, as we have noted in the chroniclers' descriptions of the city highlighted above. Situated on the Seine, a highly navigable river, it was important both strategically in controlling one of the main routes into Paris and also economically in terms of trade. In the struggles of the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, outlined elsewhere in this volume, the French kings were fully aware of the need to take the city prior to regaining Normandy as a whole.[16] However, much earlier on, even two generations after the Treaty of St-Clair-sur-Epte in 911, Rouen's importance and centrality were already recognized by the counts' (at times) powerful neighbours. In the pages of the chroniclers, Rouen becomes the lens through which rela-

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[15] William of Poitiers, *The Gesta Guillelmi*, ed. by Davis and Chibnall. For a discussion of William's spatial activities, particularly in reference to the landscape, see Hicks, 'The Concept of the Frontier in Norman Chronicles'. I note here that Latin verse chronicles, particularly Stephen of Rouen's *Draco Normannicus* are discussed by Elisabeth van Houts elsewhere in this volume.

[16] See particularly the essays by Fanny Madeline and Paul Webster in this volume.

tions between the counts and the kings of France, alongside their corresponding fortunes, are explained.

Following the death of William Longsword in 942 when his successor, Richard I, was still a young boy, Louis IV, King of France, saw an opportunity to reassert control over the province and came to Rouen. Accounts of Louis's arrival and subsequent arrest of Richard are found in Dudo and then later in the *Gesta Normannorum ducum* of William of Jumièges and in Wace's *Roman de Rou*, both of which are based on Dudo.[17] All the accounts agree that Louis was received in good faith by the citizens of Rouen, who variously thought he would take revenge on the Flemings for the murder of William Longsword (Dudo), make provision for the stability of the duchy (William of Jumièges), or join in their expression of mourning (Wace). Significantly, Dudo preceded this passage with one of his poems on Rouen stressing its wealth, resources, and population; in the *Gesta Normannorum ducum*, William follows the passage with a statement that 'the king took note of the fertility of the soil, the salubrious streams, and the ample forests'.[18] Both authors thus stress the desirability of Rouen and Normandy as a whole. Against this background of abundance, Louis asked that Richard should be brought before him, whereupon he kissed the boy and detained him at his court. It is clear from the chroniclers' accounts that Louis's actions were seen by the Normans as breaking faith and became the catalyst for a great movement of the citizens inside Rouen and the people outside.

Two things in particular are of interest in the descriptions of the Normans' reactions. First, the citizens — those inside the city walls — banded together with the people in the suburbs and the soldiers. Rouen had always had close connections with its hinterland and suburbs;[19] here we find the different groups of people that contributed to the wealth and security of the city combining to

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[17] Dudo of Saint-Quentin, *De moribus et actis primorum Normanniae ducum*, ed. by Lair, pp. 224–25; Dudo of Saint-Quentin, *History of the Normans*, trans. by Christiansen, pp. 100–01; *The Gesta Normannorum ducum*, ed. and trans. by van Houts, I, 100–01; Wace, *The Roman de Rou*, trans. by Burgess, part II, ll. 2052–2151, pp. 56–59. Benoît of Sainte-Maure also includes this episode, and his account contains similar details to that of Wace: Benoît of Sainte-Maure, *Chronique des ducs de Normandie*, ed. by Fahlin, I, ll. 15,037–15,460, pp. 434–46.

[18] 'Videns autem rex terre ubertatem atque aquarum salubritatem et siluarum plenitudeinem': *The Gesta Normannorum ducum*, ed. and trans. by van Houts, I, 100–01.

[19] Le Maho, 'Aux origines du "Grand-Rouen"' and Fanny Madeline's essay in this volume. What constituted the suburbs in particular changed as the city developed economically and grew in size as discussed by Bernard Gauthiez in this volume.

defend their young ruler. In uproar, they searched the streets for Richard before making their way to where the King was staying. Where this house or palace was is a matter of conjecture. The Rouen of the tenth century was a much smaller, more concentrated settlement in the area enclosed by the Gallo-Roman city walls (see Map 1 in Bernard Gauthiez's essay above). Eric Christiansen, the modern translator of Dudo, locates the building in the south-east angle of the city, the site of the ducal palace later destroyed by Philip Augustus.[20] In contrast, Bernard Gauthiez postulates that the residence occupied by the earliest Norman leaders was in the south-west corner of the enclosure on the site occupied by the Cordeliers in the thirteenth century, before a newer residence was built by either Richard I or Richard II (see Map 3 in Gauthiez, above).[21]

On their arrival at the King's quarters, the people rushed inside, coming to the aid of their young leader and, in Dudo at least, frightening the city's rulers. There was a lot of noise, described by Wace as 'a great noise' (l. 2089) — 'you would not have heard God's thunder' (l. 2085).[22] Dudo concentrated on the rumour of Richard's arrest as it 'spread through the entire town and beyond'.[23] News, as we will see later, travelled quickly through the city. Calm was restored only when Louis brought Richard out of the building and demonstrated that he was safe and unharmed by presenting him to the assembled company of citizens, people from the suburbs, the rulers of the city, and the soldiers. The cast of characters in these accounts helps to underline the importance of Rouen as a flourishing political and economic centre. Indeed, this episode was still being copied and illustrated in the fifteenth century. An illumination in the *Chronique de Normandie* shows the conclusion of the citizens' mad dash through the streets: the public presentation of Richard by Louis to the city.[24] The emphasis on movement and sound serves to highlight the efficacy of the city's infrastructure and the networks of people that enabled it to function.

Relations between Richard and Louis continued to be problematic, culminating in an invasion of Normandy by the French King in 946. This invasion has

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[20] Dudo of Saint-Quentin, *History of the Normans*, trans. by Christiansen, p. 211, n. 332.

[21] Gauthiez, 'La Ré-occupation planifiée de la Cité de Rouen' and Gauthiez, 'Hypothèses sur la fortification de Rouen au onzième siècle'; see also his essay in this volume.

[22] 'tel noise a par cez rues n'oïsiez Dieu tonnant [...] Grant noise font borjoiz et autre genz menues': Wace, *The Roman de Rou*, trans. by Burgess, part II, ll. 2085–89, pp. 58–59.

[23] 'murmurque capitonis per totam urbem diffusum sparsim ventilatur': Dudo of Saint-Quentin, *De moribus et actis primorum Normanniae ducum*, ed. by Lair, p. 225; Dudo of Saint-Quentin, *History of the Normans*, trans. by Christiansen, p. 100.

[24] Beck, 'Les Villes normandes au Moyen Âge', fig. 7.

to be set against a background of shifting power alliances within the Frankish realm. The chroniclers portray the situation as one in which Louis was alarmed at the growth of Norman power. Richard's position by this point was strengthened by his alliance with Hugh the Great (d. 956). The wider context, against which Louis acted, was actually the potential for destabilization of the realm caused by the Normans' defection from the Carolingian to the Capetian cause. Dudo, William of Jumièges, and Wace all recorded in varying detail the attack on Rouen. Louis invaded alongside Otto I (936–73), the German Emperor, Otto's unnamed nephew, and Arnulf of Flanders (d. 965), the ultimate trickster in early Norman historiography and prime mover in the assassination of Richard's father, William Longsword. Movement, or the potential for movement, is emphasized in relation to both people and also the topography of the city.

In terms of topography, the importance of the river Seine in particular is stressed by Dudo and Wace. Dudo noted Otto's frustration at being unable to cut off support to the city as 'the Seine by itself, and by its peculiar surges, shakes the walls of the city; and even more so when increased and pushed back by the tides of the sea'.[25] Following the death of Otto's nephew during an assault on one of the gates, discussed below, Wace has Otto state that the Normans 'will never be harmed or destroyed by us if we do not deprive them of the Seine, below the bridge by which those in the country come and go repeatedly'.[26] Wace continued this theme by describing 'the comings and goings across the bridge over the Seine, people crossing back and forth over from the direction of Émendreville, leading carts and packhorses into the town, and full-loaded ships and boats coming from the direction of the sea' (see Map 1 in Gauthiez, above).[27] When combined with the walls, Wace's ditch, and, projecting the

[25] 'Sequana simplex et singularis procellis suis quatit muros civitatis, quin etiam incrementata et repugnata fluctibus maris': Dudo of Saint-Quentin, *De moribus et actis primorum Normanniae ducum*, ed. by Lair, p. 256; Dudo of Saint-Quentin, *History of the Normans*, trans. by Christiansen, p. 130. For the importance of the Seine in earlier battles see Elisabeth van Houts's essay in this volume.

[26] 'ja n'avront mal par nous ne destruit ne seront | se nous ne lor tollon Sainne desouz le pont | par onc cil du païs vienent souvent et vont': Wace, *The Roman de Rou*, trans. by Burgess, part II, ll. 3387–89, pp. 84–85.

[27] 'vit par le pont de Sainne et venire et aler | devers Hermentruville et venir et passer | charetes et sommiers en la ville mener | nes et bateaux venier chargiez devers la mer': Wace, *The Roman de Rou*, trans. by Burgess, part II, ll. 3372–75, pp. 84–85. For the bridge, see the discussion in Bernard Gauthiez's and Elisabeth van Houts's essays in this volume.

twelfth-century developments with which he may have been familiar back onto the tenth, brattices and crenellations,[28] the Seine added a vital layer to the city's defences, serving to underline both Rouen's strength and desirability. We might speculate that life in Rouen was not quite so business as usual as Wace would have us think, but the topography and potential of easy access to a water course for the movement of people and goods did allow the city to sustain and protect itself, and this was recognized by the chroniclers.

With regard to people, the citizens, soldiers, and rulers all had a part to play, just as we saw in the case of Louis's earlier arrest of the young Richard I. Again, the relations between those inside the walls and those outside is stressed. In Dudo's account, Arnulf, already cast as a thoroughly perfidious individual, deliberately downplayed the strength of character of the Rouennais, who he described as fearful of 'those who lurk in woods and thickets' around Rouen and as scared of being 'overwhelmed by hostile fury'.[29] As such, he saw them as city dwellers who would not wish to stray beyond the safety of their walls into the wild country beyond.[30] In contrast, the main emphasis in Dudo, William, and Wace's accounts is on the willingness of the citizens to defend their city. All the accounts accord Otto's unnamed nephew a key role in the events which follow as leader of an advance party attempting to storm the city. In response the Norman soldiers were able to use the landscape and topography of the city to its best advantage, demonstrating their typical cunning and military expertise.[31] In the accounts of both Dudo and Wace, the Normans and their French and Breton allies were stationed outside the city, according to Wace, 'seated on their horses at the foot of a mountain',[32] possibly the Mont-Saint-Aignan, just outside Rouen to the north, given the direction of the German attack (see the location of Mont-aux-Malades on Map 8 in Fanny Madeline's

[28] For discussion of the walls of Rouen see the essays by Bernard Gauthiez and Fanny Madeline in this volume.

[29] 'exstat telli silvestris commoranturque latrocinia exercentes in ejus silvis et lucis': Dudo of Saint-Quentin, *De moribus et actis primorum Normanniae ducum*, ed. by Lair, p. 254; Dudo of Saint-Quentin, *History of the Normans*, trans. by Christiansen, pp. 128–29.

[30] For fear of the natural world beyond the city, see Fumagalli, *Landscapes of Fear*, trans. by Shayne Mitchell.

[31] Military skill and prowess is widely seen as a constituent part of Norman identity among differing views of that concept. Davis, *The Normans and their Myth*, p. 7; Webber, *The Evolution of Norman Identity, 911–1154*, p. 36.

[32] 'Sour lez chevauls seoient au pié d'une montaingne': Wace, *The Roman de Rou*, trans. by Burgess, part II, l. 3208, pp. 82–83.

essay, above). To capture a city, it is essential to capture the gates, and so the Germans charged towards them, specifically the Beauvais gate on the north side of the city, according to Dudo.[33] Dudo and Wace included a feigned flight in their accounts — the act of pretending to retreat on horseback in order to lure the enemy into a more advantageous position — in typical Norman 'cunning' fashion.[34] William of Jumièges's much shorter account does not mention the feigned flight but does say that the Normans had hidden themselves, fully armed, behind the walls of the city and were thus able to ambush the troops of Otto's nephew.[35] Wace also implies that some of the Normans were lying in wait behind the fortifications.[36] All agree that the Germans were soundly defeated with many killed or taken captive. The defenders of Rouen made use of their local knowledge to deploy troops around the city. Otto's nephew was also killed, according to Dudo and William, on the bridge towards the gate. Only Wace, who was then repeated and embellished by Benoît, gives us a name for the person who killed the unfortunate young man, and that is Richard himself who 'emerged from the town on an iron-grey horse, fully armed and brandishing his sword', followed by Normans and Bretons.[37] The Count was enraged by the German's taunting and ran him through with his lance.

Wace's identification of Otto's nephew's opponent as Richard is very significant and helps us understand how the interpretation of the accounts of Richard's arrest and Louis and Otto's attempted invasion changed over time. Wace was writing in the twelfth century for the court of Henry II. His history is a vernacular poem, rather than a Latin chronicle, and as such it has more theatre about it, even accounting for Dudo's notorious hyperbole.[38] The staged

[33] Dudo of Saint-Quentin, *De moribus et actis primorum Normanniae ducum*, ed. by Lair, p. 255; Dudo of Saint-Quentin, *History of the Normans*, trans. by Christiansen, p. 130. Wace, *The Roman de Rou*, trans. by Burgess, part II, l. 3235, pp. 82–83; *The Gesta Normannorum ducum*, ed. and trans. by van Houts, I, 116–19.

[34] 'Normanz devant euls pristrent a vesoier': Wace, *The Roman de Rou*, trans. by Burgess, part II, l. 3230, pp. 82–83; Dudo of Saint-Quentin, *De moribus et actis primorum Normanniae ducum*, ed. by Lair, p. 255 describes the Normans as 'talium colluctationum gnari'; Dudo of Saint-Quentin, *History of the Normans*, trans. by Christiansen, p. 130: 'experienced in such encounters'.

[35] *The Gesta Normannorum ducum*, ed. and trans. by van Houts, I, 116–19.

[36] Wace, *The Roman de Rou*, trans. by Burgess, part II, l. 3237, pp. 82–83.

[37] 'Richart ist de la ville sur un cheval ferrant | armez de toutes armes, son espié brandissant': Wace, *The Roman de Rou*, trans. by Burgess, part II, ll. 3247–48, pp. 82–83. Benoît of Sainte-Maure, *Chronique des ducs de Normandie*, ed. by Fahlin, I, ll. 20,906–20,964, pp. 601–03.

[38] For discussions of Wace's writing, see Albu, *The Normans in their Histories*, pp. 214–39;

aspect of Richard's assault on Otto's nephew in Wace is reflected in two ways: by the people who witnessed it and through the city as a backdrop. Wace conjured a picture for us of Richard thundering out of the gate, probably to cheers from the defenders on the walls and encouragement from his men. He noted that all, not just soldiers, were involved in the attack, including the 'villeins and the peasants […] and the squires [who] followed their lords with pikes'.[39] In addition, 'many people looked at his skilful display' and remarked that 'in his hands the land was well placed'.[40] The competing interest groups who had come to Richard's rescue in Wace's earlier account of his arrest by Louis were, in turn, defended by Richard in the face of a hostile invasion.

In contrast, Dudo, writing in the early eleventh century with access to the ducal court and who may have counted Richard's half-brother, Rodulf, and his wife Gunnor among his informants,[41] does not mention this assault, preferring to stress Richard's willingness to listen to his advisers and not to put himself in unnecessary danger. Wace, perhaps, was emphasizing the need for a more direct, personal form of leadership and the necessity for Henry II to defend his territories in France. The land, and its people, would indeed be well placed in the hands of a king who could demonstrate the martial prowess twelfth-century aristocratic audiences were coming to expect. In contrast, Dudo highlighted other aspects of good leadership and cooperation between ruler and ruled. All the chroniclers, however, use movement through space to demonstrate a number of important factors. First they stress the link between ruler and territory through the roles played by Richard; second, they connect the city of Rouen itself with Normandy more broadly; and finally they show how social, political, and economic relations, both internally within Normandy and beyond its borders, functioned in a time of acute stress.

Damian-Grint, *The New Historians of the Twelfth-Century Renaissance*, pp. 53–58; van Houts, 'Wace as Historian'.

[39] 'Villainz et païssant | et escuiers o pis vont lour seignour suiant': Wace, *The Roman de Rou*, trans. by Burgess, part II, ll. 3245–46, pp. 82–83.

[40] 'la pointe qu'il out faite ont plusors esgardee | et dient que bien est terre en lui aloee': Wace, *The Roman de Rou*, trans. by Burgess, part II, ll. 3265–66, pp. 82–83.

[41] Dudo of Saint-Quentin, *History of the Normans*, trans. by Christiansen, p. xxv (for Rodulf), though I note that Christiansen dismisses the suggestion that Gunnor was actively involved in Dudo's history (p. xxvii); Searle, 'Fact and Pattern in Heroic History'; van Houts, 'Countess Gunnor of Normandy'; *The Normans in Europe*, ed. by van Houts, p. 59.

Internal Politics: The City Against Itself

In the examples discussed above, I consider how chroniclers used movement through the city to elucidate relations between the dukes of Normandy and the kings of France; yet the city was also the backdrop to internal politics. Here I wish to discuss two examples of rebellions and riots reflecting the different interest groups within the city. The first focuses on Orderic Vitalis's account of the rebellion against Robert Curthose in 1090, and the second, also recounted by Orderic, deals with the riot in Rouen Cathedral in 1119. Orderic had travelled to Rouen from Saint-Évroult for his ordination as priest in 1107 and again in order to use the cathedral archives during the writing of his *Ecclesiastical History* in the mid-1120s, so he may well have used oral testimony in his accounts of both the episodes discussed here.[42] That such oral traditions were well known is demonstrated by Robert of Torigni (d. 1186), who recorded that the tower from which Conan was thrown at the end of the revolt in 1090 was still known in his day as 'Conan's leap'.[43] Orderic would almost certainly have seen some of the sites he mentioned in his chronicle and so had an awareness of the geography and layout of the city. Movement through the city is crucial here in showing how various communities experienced the impact of power and disorder.

The rebellion in 1090 was led by Conan, the son of Gilbert Pilatus, described as 'one of the richest citizens and so held a leading position among them',[44] in favour of William Rufus, King of England (1087–1100) and against William's brother Duke Robert Curthose. Conan negotiated with the King to hand the city and Duke Robert to him. Orderic records that most of the townsmen supported Conan's party, though some remained loyal to the Duke. Robert was able to make a treaty with his younger bother Henry (later King Henry I of England) and other leading nobles (William, Count of Évreux, Robert de Bellême, William de Breteuil, and Gilbert de L'Aigle), and they came to his aid. Orderic's account furnishes us with a great deal of information about the city's topography and how the various factions negotiated it (see Map 1 in Gauthiez, above). Gilbert de L'Aigle came in support of the Duke to the south gate of

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[42] Orderic Vitalis, *The Ecclesiastical History*, ed. and trans. by Chibnall, III, p. xxvii. See also Chibnall, *The World of Orderic Vitalis*.

[43] Robert of Torigni, *Chronique suivie de divers opuscules historiques*, ed. by Delisle, I, 164.

[44] 'qui inter ciues utpote ditissimus eorum precellebat': Orderic Vitalis, *The Ecclesiastical History*, ed. and trans. by Chibnall, IV, 220–21.

the city, via the bridge over the Seine, while Reginald de Warenne came to the Cauchoise gate on the west side of the city in support of Conan. The fighting was concentrated around these two main areas, and the confusion was such that Robert, having initially broken out of the castle, left by the east gate and escaped to the village of Malpalu, situated around the church of Saint-Maclou. The castle was by now situated to the south-east of the city on the site of the place de la Haute-Vieille-Tour, surrounded by a ditch on two sides and the walls of the city on the other side, with the Seine to the south. Once in Malpalu, Robert sailed along the Seine to Émendreville on the opposite bank to Rouen, the location of the priory of Notre-Dame du Pré, dependent on the abbey of Bec and now the suburb of Saint-Sever.[45] Gilbert and Henry managed to prevail in Rouen, capturing Conan and taking him to a tower in the castle where, as is famously recorded, Henry showed him the wealth and beauty of the city before throwing him out of a window. His body was then dragged through the streets he had aimed to seize in a very visible and public display of disgrace.[46]

At the end of the eleventh century, the area enclosed by the city wall was still quite small, even with the westward expansion hypothesized by Gauthiez,[47] so the fighting was concentrated in tightly confined areas. This would have added to the chaos on the streets recorded by Orderic, including the 'appalling din' ('clamor'). Orderic uses various rhetorical flourishes that are connected with emotion and movement to emphasize the confusion. The city was full of 'grief and fear' ('timor et luctus'), men fought, fell, or fled ('certantibus aut cadentibus aut fugientibus'), women wept ('flentes uociferabantur feminæ'), other people fled or were taken captive ('fugiebant aut capiebantur'), and the royal troops took advantage of the surrounding countryside to hide in the woods.[48] Henry later displayed this same countryside to Conan from the ducal tower above the Seine, underlining the wealth and resources he sought to take from the rightful Duke:

> Regard, Conan, the beauty of the country you tried to subordinate. See to the south before your eyes lies a delightful park, wooded and well-stocked with beasts of the chase. See how the river Seine, full of fishes, laps the wall of Rouen and daily

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[45] Notre-Dame du Pré was founded by William the Conqueror and Duchess Matilda *c.* 1060.

[46] I have discussed Henry's treatment of Conan in Hicks, 'Magnificent Entrances and Undignified Exits', pp. 65–67.

[47] See his essay in this volume.

[48] Orderic Vitalis, *The Ecclesiastical History*, ed. and trans. by Chibnall, iv, 224–25.

brings in ships laden with merchandise of many kinds. See on the other side the fair and populous city, with its ramparts and churches and town buildings, which has rightly been the capital of all Normandy from the earliest days.[49]

Like the accounts of Richard and Louis's difficult relationship considered above, Orderic also stressed the wealth and resources of Rouen and set them against the chaos that now engulfed the city. Whereas in the earlier chronicles the citizens of Rouen had joined together to defend their city and fight for their Count, now they were divided against themselves. A city that had continued to function in the face of foreign invasion now witnessed the execution and public disgrace of one of its leading citizens as Conan's dead body was dragged through the city, tied to a horse's tail. In addition, Robert de Bellême and William de Breteuil carried away other citizens and imprisoned them.[50] It is no coincidence that Orderic followed up his description of the revolt with his famous passage on the disasters that 'overwhelmed proud Normandy' and that the wealth previously plundered from others, notably England, was used 'only to cause grief and torment'.[51] The inability of Robert Curthose to command the support of the city and the willingness of the citizens to fight amongst themselves presaged a more widespread descent into anarchy and bad government, only brought to an end when Henry, as King of England, reunited the Anglo-Norman territories in 1106. Having interpolated the *Gesta Normannorum ducum*, Orderic was aware of William of Jumièges's accounts of the arrest of Count Richard and the invasion by Louis and Otto, even if he did not make the comparison explicit in his account here.

[49] 'Considera Conane, quam pulchram tibi patriam conatus es subicere. En ad meridiem delectabile parcum patet oculis tuis; et saltuosa regio siluestribus abundans feris. Ecce Sequana piscosum flumen Rotomagensem murum allambit; nauesque pluribus mercimoniis refertas huc cotidie deuehit. En ex alia parte ciuitas populosa menibus sacrisque templis et urbanis edibus speciosa; cui iure a priscis temporibus subiacet Normannia tota': Orderic Vitalis, *The Ecclesiastical History*, ed. and trans. by Chibnall, IV, 224–25; translation based on Chibnall's edition, with alterations. Chibnall's translation is a freer interpretation of the Latin and loses the repetition of 'See', 'En ... Ecce ... En', among other problems. The importance of seeing as an active way of understanding a situation, rather than passively regarding, is something I am developing in future work. See also Hicks, 'The Concept of the Frontier in Norman Chronicles', p. 153.

[50] Orderic Vitalis, *The Ecclesiastical History*, ed. and trans. by Chibnall, IV, 226–27.

[51] 'Ecce quibus erumnis superba profligatur Normannia [...] sed potius ad tormentum miserabiliter distrahit': Orderic Vitalis, *The Ecclesiastical History*, ed. and trans. by Chibnall, IV, 226–27.

It was politics of a different nature that brought another constituency out on to the streets of Rouen in 1119. Instead of questions of secular lordship, what was at stake in the riot in the cathedral was the ever difficult problem of clerical celibacy.[52] Following his attendance at the council of Reims, Geoffrey Brito, Archbishop of Rouen (1111–28), made a concerted effort to reform the behaviour of the priests in his diocese, particularly through enforcing the canons relating to celibacy.[53] A significant proportion of the Rouen clergy took great exception to these decrees, and debate soon gave way to violence as the Archbishop ordered Albert, described by Orderic as an 'eloquent priest', to be thrown into prison. The Archbishop, by now in quite a temper, left the synod, summoned his retainers, and made his way to the church, presumably the cathedral, where his men proceeded to attack the clergy. Some of the priests 'ran through the muddy lanes of the city to their lodgings', still attired in their albs, while others still fought back and drove the Archbishop's guards back to his apartments.[54]

The guards, horrified at their rebuff by the clergy of all people, recruited cooks, bakers, and attendants to their cause, forced the priests back to the cathedral, and attacked the elderly and pious clerics who were quietly discussing church affairs, including Hugh of Longueville and Ansquetil of Cropus. The movement here was confined to a much narrower stretch of the city, that surrounding the Archbishop's palace and the cathedral. Orderic was, therefore, focusing in on what was important here in terms of topography: the spiritual importance of Rouen as the seat of the Mother Church of the duchy and the episcopal palace as the centre of the Archbishop's jurisdiction. This allowed him to consider the complex web of relations and identities that made up the city. The sympathy of the people was against the actions of the Archbishop's party as the 'archdeacons and canons and discreet citizens were distressed' by this attack on their clergy.[55] Whether it was the content of the decrees or the manner in which Geoffrey promulgated them that caused such uproar is uncertain. Orderic lays part of the blame squarely on Geoffrey's Breton temperament.

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[52] For a discussion of clerical celibacy in Normandy in a spatial context, see Hicks, *Religious Life in Normandy*, pp. 77–87, and in terms of gender, Thibodeaux, 'Man of the Church, or Man of the Village?'.

[53] Orderic Vitalis, *The Ecclesiastical History*, ed. and trans. by Chibnall, vi, 290–95.

[54] 'quidam illorum poderibus suis induti per cenosos urbis uicos ad hospitia sua cucurrerunt': Orderic Vitalis, *The Ecclesiastical History*, ed. and trans. by Chibnall, vi, 292–93.

[55] 'Archidiacones uero et canonici ciuesque modesti de infanda cede conristati sunt': Orderic Vitalis, *The Ecclesiastical History*, ed. and trans. by Chibnall, vi, 292–95.

Perhaps this Archbishop was an unwelcome outsider, trespassing on the sacred and secular landscape of the city, or merely just one of many undiplomatic prelates. Alternatively, we can set this event in a much wider ecclesiastical context.

The events of 1119 took place during Orderic's lifetime, and he may well have heard tales of them direct from the canons and priests caught up in the riot, especially as Hugh and Ansquetil were priests in villages close to the priory of Auffay, dependent on Saint-Évroult and which Orderic visited on his return from Reims.[56] It is worth noting, however, that clerical celibacy had long been a difficult and contentious issue within the city. Orderic recorded an earlier incident in 1072 in which Archbishop John (1067–79) was apparently stoned after ordering those in major orders to abandon their concubines.[57] Alison Alexander has recently discussed previous civic disturbances involving the monks and regular clergy of Rouen within the context of the celibacy debates. She suggests that Orderic confused the 1072 riot with the disturbances at Saint-Ouen in 1073 in which the monks attacked the Archbishop during the Mass to celebrate their patronal festival.[58] Although celibacy was not the only point of conflict between the Archbishop and a house exempt from episcopal oversight, it was contentious enough to bring members of the parish of Saint-Ouen to the monks' aid. Alexander argues, convincingly, that the monks may have had deeper vested interests here than has been supposed. In the late eleventh century, the sons of priests were still not prohibited from becoming monks, and it is likely that in the parishes controlled by the abbey, relatives of the monks were serving as priests. Protecting family interests would be a strong enough reason to combine with the married clergy of the cathedral to see off this threat.[59] By focusing their violence on the person of the Archbishop, his retainers, and his palace, the priests in 1119 were therefore following a tradition of violence against prelates regarding the celibacy issue that had much wider support from the local community who literally took to the streets in support of their parish clergy.[60]

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[56] Orderic Vitalis, *The Ecclesiastical History*, ed. and trans. by Chibnall, VI, 292, n. 1.

[57] Orderic Vitalis, *The Ecclesiastical History*, ed. and trans. by Chibnall, II, 200–01.

[58] I am grateful to Alison Alexander for allowing me to see her paper in advance of publication. Orderic did not record the 1073 event in the *Ecclesiastical History*. Instead it was noted under the year 1072 in the Saint-Évroult version of the Rouen annals, which Orderic updated from 1095 onwards. Alexander, 'Riots, Reform, and Rivalry', p. 29.

[59] Alexander, 'Riots, Reform, and Rivalry', pp. 30–31. City and cathedral also clashed on other issues, notably on jurisdiction over property: Campbell, 'Cathedral Chapter and Town Council'.

[60] There are also later examples of violence directed at ecclesiastical superiors, notably the

In contrast to the external threats discussed above, in these examples Orderic presents us with a picture of a city turned in on itself. His accounts reflect failures in leadership, both temporal and spiritual, to negotiate the different constituencies within the city, failures which brought the citizens out on to the streets. Orderic uses movement through more confined spaces here to stress a society in turmoil, rather than the confident and outward-looking Rouen, and by extension, Normandy, of the civic disturbances discussed in previous examples.

Processions: Creating an Identity

So far we have considered movement through the city at times of disorder and stress, representing a spontaneous and, possibly, chaotic use of space by the various groups that made up the citizens of Rouen. The identity of these groups is illustrated by their response to perceived threats, both internal and external. More formalized occasions, both joyous and sombre, could and did bring the city's population out on to the streets and were instrumental in creating a group identity. The chronicle sources are full of references to processions, entering, exiting, and traversing the city, whether to welcome a dignitary, celebrate a marriage, mourn a death, or in connection with the many churches and relics located in the city and its suburbs. The accounts of these processions are not as full or as detailed as those we have looked at that deal with specific threats, though they are similarly concerned with displaying an allegiance or identity to a wider audience of other citizens, clergy, and outsiders.

In relation to the arrival of rulers, work on ceremonial arrival or *adventus* has primarily focused on the Ottonian realm, particularly from the point of view of what these ceremonies tell us about kingly ideals.[61] More recently, Julia Barrow has considered similar rituals within a tenth- and eleventh-century English context.[62] Little work exists on similar events in a Norman context, and it is not my purpose to give a full account here. What we can see is that in the pages of

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partner of the priest Haimo, who, along with her daughters, imprisoned the two priests sent by his bishop, Arnulf of Lisieux, to break up the family: Arnulf of Lisieux, *The Letters*, ed. by Barlow, pp. 177–78, no. 115 and Arnulf of Lisieux, *The Letter Collections*, trans. by Schriber, p. 259. See discussion in Hicks, *Religious Life in Normandy*, pp. 81–82, and Alexander, 'Riots, Reform, and Rivalry'.

[61] Warner, 'Ritual and Memory in the Ottonian *Reich*', p. 257.

[62] Barrow, 'Demonstrative Behaviour and Political Communication'.

the chronicles such events were a mark of respect for a returning duke or the arrival of a bride and served as a means of unifying the city. How far these occasions were rooted in custom or how far they reflected events that were more contemporaneous with the individual who was writing about them is a moot point, as the details can remain frustratingly vague in places. Dudo's modern translator likens William Longsword's reception on his return to Rouen in 942 after standing as godfather to Louis's son, Lothair, to the *occursus*, or civic welcome, in hagiographical writing.[63] The clergy and monks met William at the gates of the city, while the citizens watched the procession from side roads, the walls, and at junctions.[64] William of Jumièges inserted the Benedictus ('Blessed is he that comes in the name of the Lord') in his adaptation of Dudo's account, though no independent sources exist to support this use of the biblical verse.[65] Orderic's account of Henry I's entrance into Rouen in 1107 following his defeat of Robert Curthose at Tinchebray a year earlier merely records that he was welcomed by the citizens of Rouen.[66] The arrival of ducal brides is given similarly brief treatment by the chroniclers.[67] Such processions were also a form of diplomatic and political activity. When King Louis IV raided in Normandy in 944, he was received in Rouen by Bernard the Dane in a gesture of peace, probably to buy time for the Normans. Dudo, William of Jumièges, and Wace all included this event in their chronicles.[68] William's account bears close resemblance to the reception of William Longsword discussed above, while Wace wrote that 'Bernard had processions made ready. There was no chapel in the town with a bell tower in which the bell did not toll in honour of the king and they led him in procession into the great church'.[69] Of course, from

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[63] Dudo of Saint-Quentin, *History of the Normans*, trans. by Christiansen, p. 203, n. 275.

[64] Dudo of Saint-Quentin, *De moribus et actis primorum Normanniae ducum*, ed. by Lair, p. 58; Dudo of Saint-Quentin, *History of the Normans*, trans. by Christiansen, p. 76.

[65] *The Gesta Normannorum ducum*, ed. and trans. by van Houts, I, 84–85, n. 3.

[66] Orderic Vitalis, *The Ecclesiastical History*, ed. and trans. by Chibnall, VI, 92–93.

[67] For example, *The Gesta Normannorum ducum*, ed. and trans. by van Houts, I, 80–81 for Leyarda of Vermandois who married William Longsword; I, 120–21 for Emma, daughter of Hugh the Great, who married Richard I; and II, 130–31 for Matilda of Flanders, wife of William the Conqueror.

[68] Dudo of Saint-Quentin, *De moribus et actis primorum Normanniae ducum*, ed. by Lair, p. 236; Dudo of Saint-Quentin, *History of the Normans*, trans. by Christiansen, p. 112; *The Gesta Normannorum ducum*, ed. and trans. by van Houts, I, 106–09 and Wace, *The Roman de Rou*, trans. by Burgess, part II, ll. 2593–96, pp. 68–69.

[69] 'Lez processions fist Bernart aparreillier | n'ont chapele en la vile ou il eüst clochier | ou

the perspective of the chroniclers, the Normans were not really trying to make peace but to secure the best possible outcome for themselves; this is especially the case in Wace's accounts. Processions were a mark of respect, but also a show of strength and unity.

Rulers come and rulers go; not even Norman dukes were immortal. Perhaps the best-known account of movement in relation to death is found in the pages of Orderic's *Ecclesiastical History* where he records the chaos on the streets caused by William the Conqueror's death, as 'everyone left the place where he was to seek counsel from his wife, acquaintance, or friend'.[70] William was deserted by his lords and his body robbed by his attendants, and only the clergy remembered that dignity was as becoming in death as it was in life and 'formed a procession and, clad in vestments with crosses and censers, moved to St Gervais where they commended the king's soul to God according to Christian rites' (see Map 1 in Gauthiez, above).[71] William died in Rouen, but his body was taken out of the city to Caen, where it was interred in his foundation, the abbey of Saint-Étienne. For Orderic the chaos that followed William's death served a moral purpose — death was no respecter of status — and also a didactic one: William's reign gave way to what Orderic perceived as the disorder of the rule of Robert Curthose.[72] Wace, though he largely follows Orderic up to and including the events at the funeral, does not lay the same stress on chaos in the streets. He, instead, has people rushing up to the church in great numbers and the bishops and barons arriving in procession.[73] As he also omits William's corpse bursting while attendants were trying to place it in the sarcophagus during the funeral, Wace's account may be an attempt to reduce the moralizing tone of Orderic for a later twelfth-century court audience. Other chroniclers also give indications of the funerary rites of Norman rulers. The Conqueror's predecessor William Longsword was murdered in Flanders, and

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li glas n'en sonnast por le roi essaucier | a prochession l'ont mené eu grant moustier': Wace, *The Roman de Rou*, trans. by Burgess, part II, ll. 2593–96, pp. 68–69.

[70] 'Vnusquisque de loco ubi erat recessit; et quid ageret a coniuge uel obuio sodali uel amico consilium quesiuit': Orderic Vitalis, *The Ecclesiastical History*, ed. and trans. by Chibnall, IV, 102–03.

[71] 'processionem ordinauerunt, honeste induti cum crucibus et thuribulis ad sanctam Geruasium processerunt; et animam regis secundum morem sanctæ Christianitatis Deo commendauerunt': Orderic Vitalis, *The Ecclesiastical History*, ed. and trans. by Chibnall, IV, 102–03.

[72] For consideration of Orderic's negative portrayal of aspects of the reign of Robert Curthose, see Thompson, 'Orderic Vitalis and Robert of Bellême'.

[73] Wace, *The Roman de Rou*, trans. by Burgess, part III, ll. 9223–9340, pp. 294–97.

so his body had to be brought into Rouen for burial. Dudo, undoubtedly exaggerating to underline Arnulf's treachery, wrote that 'nearly the entire province came together lamenting with unutterable sorrow' as the body was carried in procession to the cathedral.[74] William of Jumièges also underlines the coming together of clergy and people, focused on Rouen, which accompanied the leader to his grave.[75]

The presence and translation of relics was vitally important in maintaining both a civic and religious identity. Relics represented wealth, prestige, and divine favour, and as a result, they could also act as a focus for rivalry between the city's secular clergy and religious houses.[76] In both respects ceremonies involving relics allowed the chroniclers to sharpen their focus on the city. A case in point is the translation of the relics of St Romanus in the late eleventh century, which marked his rise to prominence as the patron saint of Normandy at the expense of the relics of St Audeonus held by the monastery of Saint-Ouen.[77] Orderic recorded that William Bona Anima, Archbishop of Rouen (1079–1110), transferred the body of St Romanus to the cathedral 'with splendid ceremonies and reverently placed it in a reliquary of gold and silver' ornamented with precious stones.[78] As a means of celebrating the feast day of the saint, the relics were to be carried in a procession to a location outside the city which men and women from the diocese should be encouraged to attend.[79] Here we see not only that the streets of Rouen formed a backdrop to the festival, but that the festival itself, as it moved through the streets, linked Rouen with its hinterland and the shared identity among the people of the city and the region as a whole. Romanus was associated with protection from floods, particularly useful to the residents of a city located on the banks of the river

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[74] 'Convenit etiam omnis pene provincia lugens ineffabili moestitia': Dudo of Saint-Quentin, *De moribus et actis primorum Normanniae ducum*, ed. by Lair, p. 208; Dudo of Saint-Quentin, *History of the Normans*, trans. by Christiansen, p. 84.

[75] *The Gesta Normannorum ducum*, ed. and trans. by van Houts, i, 94–95.

[76] Lifshitz, *The Norman Conquest of Pious Neustria*; Alexander, 'Riots, Reform, and Rivalry'.

[77] Lifshitz, *The Norman Conquest of Pious Neustria*, pp. 184–206. See also Alexander, 'Riots, Reform, and Rivalry' for the political context. David Spear has also considered the importance of the cult of St Romanus: Spear, 'The Double Display of Saint Romanus of Rouen'.

[78] 'Corpus sancti Romani præsulis de propria æde in metropolitanam basilicam gloriose transtulit; et in scrinio auro argentoque cum preciosis lapidibus operose cooperto reuerenter locauit': Orderic Vitalis, *The Ecclesiastical History*, ed. and trans. by Chibnall, iii, 22–25.

[79] Orderic Vitalis, *The Ecclesiastical History*, ed. and trans. by Chibnall, iii, 24–25.

Seine, and the custom developed of releasing a prisoner at the annual fair connected with the saint, held on the Champ-du-Pardon to the north-east of Rouen.[80] The promotion of Romanus and the processions associated with him were powerful displays by the cathedral of its power to control cultic practices and liturgical movement around the city at the expense of other religious communities in the city.[81]

Finally, I want to return to something to which I alluded in the discussion of Rouen's place in the relations between Count Richard and King Louis IV, the question of noise. Sound plays a very important part in the chroniclers' consideration of movement through the city. Singing and acclamation accompanied arrivals into the city. News was carried on the feet of those who rushed about, and rumours spread. Noise is implied in references to the daily activities of the city, for example, traffic on the Seine and the business of trade. Silence and stillness are contrasted with bustle: the royal retainers who had infiltrated Rouen in support of Conan's rebellion 'stood ready in silent support of the revolt' in contrast to the chaos raging around them.[82] Rouen and its environs were full of churches, many with bells referred to in the chronicle accounts. As well as marking the different parishes within the city and its suburbs, these bells rang out in celebration and tolled the hours throughout the day. At times of stress and celebration, as the bells of all the churches rang out at once, the noise must have been comparatively deafening. Chris Woolgar has noted that the experience of sound in premodern centuries was qualitatively different from modern perceptions. As there was much less background noise, everyday life was much quieter. Sounds, like bells rung outside the times to mark the canonical hours, were therefore much more distinctive and so remarked upon.[83]

The fact that the chroniclers included the noise of the city in their accounts reminds us that it was not just people who moved through city streets. News, rumours, music, and so on also travelled across the city and into the suburbs as in, for example, Dudo's description of the rumour as it spread around the town

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[80] Lifshitz, *The Norman Conquest of Pious Neustria*, pp. 148–49 for floods, and Campbell, 'Cathedral Chapter and Town Council', p. 102 for prisoners (records for the latter date from 1210). For the location of the fair, see Periaux, *Dictionnaire indicateur et historique des rues et places de Rouen*, pp. 113–15.

[81] See in particular the essay by Grégory Combalbert in this volume.

[82] 'et parati rebellionem tacite prestolantes seditionis moram egre ferebant': Orderic Vitalis, *The Ecclesiastical History*, ed. and trans. by Chibnall, iv, 222–23.

[83] Woolgar, *The Senses in Late Medieval England*, pp. 66–71.

causing alarm amongst the citizens.[84] Like movement, however, noise and the ability to make it were not uncontested. Looking ahead into the thirteenth century, the nuns of Saint-Amand found their liturgical practices severely curtailed by Pope Innocent IV (1243–54) in a bull dated to 1244. They were forbidden not only from holding processions, but also from ringing their bells. Their abbey lay sandwiched between the cathedral to the south and the abbey of Saint-Ouen to the north (see Map 4 in Gauthiez, above); clearly there had been problems of excessive noise with conflicting sets of bells ringing the hours.[85] Space precludes a fuller discussion of this topic here, but the soundscape of medieval cities may well prove a fruitful area for further research.

Conclusion

A consideration of movement through the city of Rouen in the chronicle accounts we have looked at highlights how those who created a history for the Normans understood the city and used it to explore some of the main themes of their writing. Descriptions of movement allowed the city to become much more visible than it was otherwise, allowing the reader, or hearer, to form a mental image of the city. These episodes reveal the tensions that could erupt at times between the different groups within the city and how these were negotiated, not only in terms of social relations, but in a very real sense on the ground. This is particularly apparent in Orderic's description of the 1119 riot. The chroniclers also stress cooperation between the citizens at times of stress or at more formalized occasions like the arrival or death of a duke. The relationship between areas inside and outside Rouen is demonstrated through the comings and goings in and out of the city of various groups of people; in the location of key points, particularly bridges, palaces, gates, and churches; and also topographically through the connection of Rouen with its hinterland. Broader limits are also important here, particularly in Dudo and Wace's elaboration of the relationship between Normandy and its neighbours. Our journey through the city streets of Rouen in the company of saints, triumphant dukes, soldiers, indignant citizens, and furious clerics also reveals the pride felt in Normandy's

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[84] Dudo of Saint-Quentin, *De moribus et actis primorum Normanniae ducum*, ed. by Lair, p. 225; Dudo of Saint-Quentin, *History of the Normans*, trans. by Christiansen, p. 100.

[85] For a broader discussion of this case, see Hicks, *Religious Life in Normandy*, p. 49. The bull is printed in Pommeraye, *Histoire de l'abbaye de Saint-Amand*, pp. 93–94, and Le Cacheux, 'Histoire de l'abbaye de Saint-Amand de Rouen', pp. 254–58.

principal city by chroniclers and citizens, along with its importance to the dukes. In the hands of Dudo and company, descriptions of movement through space through the city of Rouen should not be dismissed as mere picturesque detail to enliven courtly life or to provide edification during refectory readings, but are an essential part of their narrative reflecting contemporary social, political, and cultural concerns.

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Part II

Rouen as a Religious Centre

'Praesul praecipue, atque venerande': The Career of Robert, Archbishop of Rouen, 989–1037

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T his paper analyses the career of Robert, Archbishop of Rouen, and his contributions to the development of ducal Normandy's most important urban settlement. The son of Richard I, Duke of Normandy (942–96), and Gunnor, his second wife, Robert was a formidable figure who governed the city and metropolitan diocese of Rouen for almost fifty years during the reigns of five successive dukes. Invested with both secular (he was also Count of Évreux) and ecclesiastical power, his lengthy archiepiscopate was fundamental to the re-establishment of the Norman secular Church and key to the emergence of an increasingly confident Norman state.[1] Rouen also experienced a dramatic resurgence during his tenure, and although the city was already a site of some importance before his elevation to the episcopate, it was during his reign, and as a direct result of his activities, that it was transformed into a centre of political, religious, social, and cultural significance. The Archbishop not only restored the physical and territorial infrastructure of his cathedral, the most important institution in any medieval city, but also reintegrated Rouen within a network of wider ecclesiastical importance by cultivating links with cities such as Chartres and

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* The Latin title of this essay is from Dudo of Saint-Quentin's *De moribus* (Dudo of Saint-Quentin, *De moribus et actis primorum Normanniae ducum*, ed. by Lair, p. 126).

[1] Although many works refer to events during Robert's archiepiscopate, there exists only one modern, and very short, published account of his archiepiscopate, Bouet and Dosdat, 'Les Évêques normands', p. 19. For his career as Count of Évreux, see Bauduin, *La Première Normandie*, pp. 325–30.

Winchester. The growth of Normandy's principal city also enabled the re-establishment of other episcopal cities within the duchy, many of which had suffered as a result of the Northmen incursions of the preceding centuries, while Robert's own activities were to have a direct impact on urban communities throughout the region, from Dieppe in the north-east to Avranches in the far west.

In spite of his later prominence, we know very little of the Archbishop's early life. He was presumably born sometime after 966, since this is the date at which his father's first wife, Emma, disappears from the historical record.[2] No extant charter bears his *signum* before he became Archbishop, and none of the Norman chroniclers refer to his life before his transferral to Rouen, except a late tradition which claims that there were problems with his investiture because of his parents' marital status.[3] It is possible that Robert attended the translation of the relics of St Ouen, which his father performed at a date traditionally placed in the last years of the 980s,[4] but he is not named personally and can only be seen among those 'other sons and daughters' of Richard I whom the author of the *translatio* claims were present at the event.[5] It is also possible that he studied with a master of the liberal arts (*disciplinis liberalibus magistrum*) attached to the abbey of Saint-Ouen de Rouen, which if true, suggests he had been intended for the Church from an early age.[6] Although various Norman annals record his accession to the archiepiscopate in 989,[7] his first major act as Archbishop was his role in the foundation of Fécamp on 15 June 990, where he helped to consecrate the collegiate church and agreed to free it from episcopal customs.[8] The significance of this event in the ecclesiastical revival of the

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[2] She was present during a plea at Gisors, which took place in June or July 966, and which is referred to in a charter of Saint-Denis dated 18 March 968: *Recueil des actes des ducs de Normandie*, ed. by Fauroux, no. 3.

[3] *The Gesta Normannorum ducum*, ed. and trans. by van Houts, ii, 266–68.

[4] For a summary of the various arguments, and a proposal of a more accurate date of *c.* 967 × before 985, see Allen, 'The Norman Episcopate', i, 9–15.

[5] 'Affuerunt huic tam felici obsequio et digno spectaculo, dux ipse egregius Ricardus, cum coniuge sua Albereda nomine, et filio Rotberto cognomine Dano, qui defunctus sepultus est apud sanctum Petrum Carnoti, et cum aliis filiis et filiabus ex eadem uxore': 'Translatio secunda corporis beati Audoeni', p. 824.

[6] 'The Cathedral Miracles of Romanus', ed. by Lifshitz, p. 268. This text is translated in Lifshitz, 'The Dossier of Romanus of Rouen', pp. 388–410 (pp. 388–89).

[7] 'Chronicon Rotomagense sublatis minus necessariis', ed. by Labbe, p. 366; *Les Annales de l'abbaye Saint-Pierre de Jumièges*, ed. by Laporte, p. 52; 'Annales Uticenses', ed. by Le Prévost, p. 156; Den Haag, KB, MS 128 E 14, fol. 9ʳ. I am extremely grateful to Alison Alexander for supplying me with a photocopy of the last of these.

[8] *Recueil des actes des ducs de Normandie*, ed. by Fauroux, no. 4.

late tenth century cannot be overstressed and, as a cardinal moment in early Norman history, has long held the attention of scholars.[9]

Nevertheless, circumstances in the Norman dioceses upon Robert's election left little to be desired. The destruction in the west of the duchy was so profound that the diocese of Avranches had lain vacant for over a century,[10] while the bishops of Coutances, who had been translated to Rouen by the first Norman duke, Rollo,[11] continued to operate out of the church of Saint-Lô throughout the Archbishop's reign. The diocese of Rouen itself, on the other hand, had not suffered such upheaval, and its archbishops had been among the principal figures, either real or imagined,[12] in the formation of the new Norman realm. Robert's immediate predecessor in the archiepiscopal seat was Hugh (942–89), a former monk of Saint-Denis, who was chosen as archbishop by William Longsword (d. 942). By the mid-eleventh century, Hugh was regarded as anathema within the cathedral community of Rouen,[13] but his legacy is not dissimilar to that of Robert himself, only on a slightly smaller scale.[14] It is possible, in fact, that Hugh owes his negative reputation to little more than his association with the Franks, whose forces occupied the Norman capital during the minority of Richard I,[15] and to his involvement with the abbey of Saint-Ouen de Rouen,[16] one of the cathedral's great eleventh-century rivals.[17]

[9] For bibliographical details, see Douglas, 'The First Ducal Charter for Fécamp', p. 45.

[10] *Gallia Christiana in provincias ecclesiasticas distributa*, XI, col. 474.

[11] 'De statu huius ecclesiae ab anno 836 ad 1093', in *Gallia Christiana in provincias ecclesiasticas distributa*, XI, *instrumenta*, col. 218.

[12] For discussion of the alleged role of Franco, Archbishop of Rouen, in the baptism of Rollo, see Guillot, 'La Conversion des Normands peu après 911'.

[13] For Hugh's reputation at the cathedral, see the metrical chronicle in elegiac distiches, which Orderic Vitalis incorporated into his famous chronicle (Orderic Vitalis, *The Ecclesiastical History*, ed. and trans. by Chibnall, III, 80), and a *gesta episcoporum* written *c*. 1070: Allen, 'The *Acta archiepiscoporum Rotomagensium*: Study and Edition', p. 38.

[14] Lifshitz, 'La Normandie carolingienne', pp. 513–20.

[15] Lauer, *Le Règne de Louis IV d'Outre-mer*, pp. 87–143.

[16] Hugh, who also served as titular abbot of Saint-Ouen de Rouen, received gifts and privileges via this position from the king of the Franks. Jacques Le Maho has traced the ramifications of the association of the abbey of Saint-Ouen with the Frankish occupiers to the tenth-century hagiographical production of Jumièges, which is unusually cold towards the abbey's patron saint: Le Maho, 'La Production éditoriale à Jumièges', pp. 28–29. It is possible the cathedral authors harboured a similar sense of betrayal.

[17] For discussion of one particular aspect of this rivalry, with reference to others, see Allen,

But if Hugh had helped Rouen become, by the end of the tenth century, a vibrant centre of commerce and trade,[18] its religious infrastructure was still somewhat lacking. It seems, in particular, that parts of the cathedral quarter, which was subject to numerous Viking raids during the ninth century,[19] had been sacrificed to accommodate certain commercial aspects of the new city established by the first Norman dukes.[20] It would not be until the end of the tenth century that the relevant authorities would concentrate their resources on improving the religious edifices within this part of the city, and although Archbishop Robert is known to have played a large part in this amelioration, his exact role in the reconstruction of the cathedral remains a subject of much controversy. In fact, despite the detailed excavations of Georges Lanfry and Jacques Le Maho, much of the early history of the cathedral remains largely unresolved, due in part to a site that one authority has described as 'an archaeological nightmare'.[21] Le Maho himself has argued that the accounts of Dudo of Saint-Quentin and Wace, both of whom claim that it was Richard I who reconstructed the cathedral, are merely recounting an addition made by the Duke (perhaps a porch on the western façade) to the Carolingian cathedral.[22] This was previous to, and totally independent of, the work attributed to Archbishop Robert by Orderic Vitalis.[23] Maylis Baylé, on the other hand, has argued that the accounts of Dudo, Wace, and Orderic are not contradictory, but instead refer to the same building campaign, which was begun towards the end of Richard I's reign when Robert was already Archbishop (that is, between 989 and 996).[24] Le Maho, however, remains unconvinced by some of her suggestions.[25]

'The *Acta archiepiscoporum Rotomagensium* and Urban Ecclesiastical Rivalry'.

[18] Bates, *Normandy before 1066*, pp. 36, 128–29.

[19] Le Maho, 'Le Groupe épiscopal de Rouen', pp. 169–72.

[20] Le Maho, 'Les Fouilles de la cathédrale de Rouen', pp. 31–36.

[21] Grant, 'Rouen Cathedral', p. 60.

[22] Dudo of Saint-Quentin, *De moribus et actis primorum Normanniae ducum*, ed. by Lair, p. 290; Wace, *The Roman de Rou*, trans. by Burgess, part III, ll. 691–96. Le Maho's conclusions are summarized in Baylé, 'Les Évêques et l'architecture normande', p. 153; Baylé, 'Norman Architecture around the Year 1000', pp. 4–5; Baylé, 'La Cathédrale romane', pp. 182–85.

[23] Orderic Vitalis, *The Ecclesiastical History*, ed. and trans. by Chibnall, III, 85.

[24] Baylé, 'Les Évêques et l'architecture normande', p. 153; Baylé, 'La Cathédrale romane', p. 183.

[25] Le Maho, 'Nouvelles hypothèses sur l'église Notre-Dame de Rouen', pp. 297–99; Le Maho, 'Grands travaux à la cathédrale de Rouen'.

Such matters of chronology aside, it is believed that Robert constructed the choir, transept, lantern tower, and crypt of his cathedral, although the last of these features is the only one attributable to him that still survives.[26] The crypt nevertheless typifies the way in which Robert rejuvenated and redefined those institutions in his charge. Its style recalls that at the cathedral of Chartres, upon which it may have been modelled.[27] This edifice was begun by Bishop Fulbert (1006–28), a prelate with whom Robert enjoyed a particularly close relationship. It is possible they met at least once at Compiègne on 9 June 1017 during the coronation of Hugh Magnus as co-regent of the Franks,[28] while they exchanged letters on at least two occasions.[29] The city of Chartres was also clearly important to the Archbishop, since he was an active patron of its ecclesiastical institutions, as one of the charters edited in the appendix to this article illustrates. But while Robert may have been inspired by work conducted elsewhere, his crypt remains one of the finest examples of its kind within Normandy, outshining many contemporary structures at the great monastic houses of the province. Beyond the borders of the duchy, the Archbishop's architectural ingenuity placed Rouen at the heart of a network of cities similarly influenced, which spread as far south as the Loire valley and as far east as the Bourgogne.[30]

To complement the growing sophistication of the physical infrastructure of his cathedral, the Archbishop also took active steps to improve its temporal affluence. Like his architectural forays, these acquisitions helped bring Rouen into contact with neighbouring urban settlements and to extend the

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[26] Lanfry, *La Cathédrale dans la cité romaine*, pp. 22, 26–33; Baylé, 'Les Évêques et l'architecture normande', p. 155; Le Maho, 'Les Fouilles de la cathédrale de Rouen', pp. 37–39.

[27] Le Maho, 'Nouvelles hypothèses sur l'église Notre-Dame de Rouen', p. 296 and n. 7; Le Maho, 'Les Fouilles de la cathédrale de Rouen', p. 39.

[28] The two men witnessed a charter for the abbey of Fruttuaria, which may have been associated with the coronation at Compiègne. For an edition of this act and arguments, not all of them convincing, against the signatures having been appended at this meeting, see Bulst, *Untersuchungen zu den Klosterreformen Wilhelms von Dijon*, pp. 223–36, 245–46. For the coronation, see Helgaud of Fleury, *Epitoma vitae regis Rotberti Pii*, ed. by Bautier and Labory, p. 91; Rodolfus Glaber, *Opera*, ed. by Bulst, France, and Reynolds, p. 152; *Recueil des actes des ducs de Normandie*, ed. by Fauroux, no. 22.

[29] *The Letters and Poems of Fulbert of Chartres*, ed. and trans. by Behrends, nos 93 and 126.

[30] Other eleventh-century churches with which Rouen shares common features include those of Orléans, Tournus, Auxerre, and Nevers: Baylé, 'Les Évêques et l'architecture normande', pp. 157–58; Baylé, 'La Cathédrale romane', pp. 188–89.

city's influence well beyond the confines of its walls. Robert's first known endeavour concerned the domain of Douvrend, which had been given by his predecessor Hugh of Saint-Denis to his brother-in-law Odo. Upon Odo's death the land had passed to his sister, who was married to a certain Henry, whose kinsman (*consanguineus*) was Walter II, Count of Amiens-Valois-Vexin (992×98–1017×24). Walter then offered the domain to Archbishop Robert, who gave him 'a capful of coins' in return and promptly restored the land to his cathedral.[31] Far more significantly, the Archbishop was able to secure two confirmations of cathedral land from Duke Robert I (1027–35),[32] which were granted shortly after the two men had become reconciled following a dispute that had seen the Archbishop briefly exiled from the duchy.[33] Numbering just over fifty, the restitutions catalogued in these charters were predominantly located in Upper Normandy, especially in the Pays de Talou and the Pays de Bray, but were also found as far west as Falaise and Caen. Outside Normandy there were two benefices in the Beauvaisis and at least one in the region of Paris.[34] Unfortunately, the charters give no indication as to how the Archbishop came to acquire these holdings outside the duchy, but it is not impossible that he had been granted those near Paris by Robert the Pious, at whose court he had spent his exile.

The most significant expansion in possessions, however, occurred along the valley of the Seine in the *Vexin normand*. This volatile borderland, which was bounded by the rivers Epte, Andelle, and Seine, lay on the principal route between Paris and Rouen. Consequently, it was a constant battleground throughout the ducal period and witnessed everything from lightning cross-border raids to full-scale campaigns.[35] Since the archdiocese of Rouen took in the whole of the Vexin, both Norman and French, the archbishops had long been involved in the region, and as early as 979 there was an archdeacon

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[31] *Recueil des actes des ducs de Normandie*, ed. by Fauroux, no. 10 (p. 82): 'postea redemit eam Robertus archiepiscopus qui eam sibi dederat pleno pilleo de denariis'.

[32] *Recueil des actes des ducs de Normandie*, ed. by Fauroux, nos 66, 67.

[33] *The Gesta Normannorum ducum*, ed. and trans. by van Houts, ii, 48.

[34] It is possible that the cathedral held two benefices near Paris, since Marie Fauroux claimed that the land of Vy mentioned in the first of the two charters issued in conjunction with Robert I is Vicq, Yvelines, canton Montfort-l'Amaury: *Recueil des actes des ducs de Normandie*, ed. by Fauroux, p. 197, no. 66. Pierre Bauduin, however, believes that it is more likely to be Wy-dit-Joli-Village (Val-d'Oise, canton Magny-en-Vexin): Bauduin, *La Première Normandie*, p. 269, n. 128.

[35] Green, 'Lords of the Norman Vexin'.

responsible for its administration.[36] The restitutions made there by Archbishop Robert bear a striking resemblance to those undertaken in the same region by the great monasteries of Normandy, through which a deliberate ducal policy to secure Norman authority in the Vexin has been traced.[37] Robert's acquisitions included some key strategic locations (Ecos, Neaufles-Saint-Martin),[38] while a number of his successors contributed to these holdings in an effort to bolster ducal authority in the region.[39] It is possible that a similar strategy inspired the restoration of holdings along the banks — or in the vicinity — of the Béthune and the Eaulne,[40] since these two rivers lay near the border with Picardy, which was also particularly unstable during the early years of the eleventh century.[41] The re-establishment of an archiepiscopal presence in the region may also have had an effect on the expansion of the harbour at Dieppe, which lies at the mouth of the Arques, the short watercourse formed by the conflunece of the Béthune and the Eaulne with the Varenne. Dieppe appears for the first time in the historical record shortly after Robert issued his charters[42] and soon became one of the premier ports linking the continent to England,[43] a kingdom in which the Archbishop of Rouen is known to have himself fostered connections.

[36] An archdeacon, Ornatus, is mentioned in a charter of Hugh of Saint-Denis for the abbey of Saint-Germain des Prés: *Recueil des chartes de l'abbaye de Saint-Germain des Prés*, ed. by Poupardin, I, no. xliv.

[37] Bauduin, *La Première Normandie*, pp. 250–51.

[38] For the castles later built at these sites, see 'Châteaux disparus', 'Neaufles-Saint-Martin', and 'Château-sur-Epte', in Châtelain, *Châteaux forts et féodalité en Île de France*, pp. 186, 191–94, 203–08.

[39] Bauduin, *La Première Normandie*, pp. 269–71.

[40] The cathedral held possessions at Envermeu, Douvrend, Angreville (all Seine-Maritime, canton Envermeu), Londinières, Clais, Baillolet, and Duranville (all Seine-Maritime, canton Londinières), which are located along the banks of the Eaulne, and at Saint-Vaast d'Équiqueville (Seine-Maritime, canton Envermeu) and Saint-Saire (Seine-Maritime, canton Neufchâtel-en-Bray), which are on the banks of the Béthune. The cathedral also owned land at Épinay, which may be that located on the banks of the Eaulne (Seine-Maritime, canton and commune Londinières) or that on the banks of the Béthune (Seine-Maritime, canton Londinières, com. Osmoy-Saint-Valery).

[41] Bauduin, *La Première Normandie*, pp. 285–318.

[42] The earliest known reference to the port of Dieppe is found in a charter issued for La Trinité-du-Mont in 1030: *Recueil des actes des ducs de Normandie*, ed. by Fauroux, no. 61.

[43] For its history during the Middle Ages, see Lardin, 'Le Pouvoir à Dieppe à la fin du Moyen Âge'.

Such links appear to have been cultivated primarily through the Archbishop's sister, Emma, the wife of two successive English kings (Æthelred II and Cnut), while the impact they were to have on the city of Rouen was to prove overwhelmingly artistic. Orderic Vitalis, for example, tells of Robert receiving a 'richly illuminated Psalter' as a gift from his sister,[44] while it may also have been through these channels that the Archbishop secured a tenth-century Winchester codex, which is known today as the *Benedictional of Archbishop Robert*.[45] Besides these acquisitions, which the Archbishop probably used to improve the burgeoning library of his cathedral, and which may have played a role in introducing the Normans to Anglo-Saxon illumination and sculpture,[46] Robert also acted as a literary patron in his own right. The most famous recipient of his benefaction remains Dudo of Saint-Quentin, who worked in the Norman court at Rouen and in whose famous history one finds dedicatory poems in honour of the Archbishop.[47] Robert can also be linked with the poet Warner and other satirists like him, who were active in the Norman capital during the early years of the eleventh century. Their distinctive work has not always been kindly viewed by modern authorities,[48] but its most recent editors have found much to admire therein, including the promotion of monastic reform ideals.[49] Warner's poems have, moreover, not only long been compared with those of Dudo of Saint-Quentin,[50] but also appear to have been influenced by English literary trends, in particular those of the

[44] 'magnum psalterium uariis picturis decoratum': Orderic Vitalis, *The Ecclesiastical History*, ed. and trans. by Chibnall, II, 42.

[45] The manuscript still survives today as Rouen, BM, MS Y 7 Omont 369. For a modern edition, and discussion as to the identity of the archbishop associated with the codex, see *The Benedictional of Archbishop Robert*, ed. by Wilson, pp. xiv–xvi. The most recent work on the manuscript is in favour of a connection with Archbishop Robert: Gameson, 'La Normandie et l'Angleterre au XIᵉ siècle', pp. 133, 158.

[46] Baylé, 'La Sculpture du XIᵉ siècle à Jumièges', pp. 81–83.

[47] Dudo of Saint-Quentin, *De moribus et actis primorum Normanniae ducum*, ed. by Lair, pp. 123–25, 126–28.

[48] Henri Omont condemned the poem *Moriuht* as 'd'une versification rude et barbare [... et] plus souvent encore grossier et obscene': Omont, 'Satire de Garnier de Rouen contre le poète Moriuth', p. 197. For similar views, see Dosdat, 'Les Évêques de la province de Rouen', p. 240.

[49] Warner of Rouen, *Moriuht*, ed. and trans. by McDonough, pp. 51–54. Jan Ziolkowski has similarly traced many different influences and styles in another of the Rouen poems, *Jezebel*, ed. by Ziolkowski, pp. 47–57.

[50] Musset, 'Le Satiriste Garnier de Rouen et son milieu', pp. 247–48.

school of Winchester.[51] It is even possible that William of Jumièges, the great ducal chronicler, began his career under Robert's patronage, for it appears he was employed by the Archbishop to serve him as a *notarius* in his functions as Count of Évreux.[52] Unfortunately, it is not possible to detect a fully functioning school at Rouen during the Archbishop's reign,[53] but the 'cénacle de lettres' that Robert nurtured in the city was certainly enough to provide the foundations on which such an institution would later rest.[54]

The cathedral of Rouen also benefitted from the Archbishop's literary activities. The cathedral chapter, which under Robert witnessed the establishment of important positions such as the dean and treasurer,[55] the latter evidence in itself of the wealth Robert was bringing to his church, also began to welcome men of intellectual renown. Most famous among these is Hugh 'the Grammarian', an archdeacon, whose role in the burgeoning school of Rouen is already well known.[56] Men such as Hugh were equipped with an increasingly sophisticated library, which Robert not only augmented with the volumes noted above, but also began to furnish with a more impressive hagiographical dossier. The move to increase these possessions had begun under Robert's predecessor, Hugh of Saint-Denis. He had acquired a copy of the *vita* of St Romanus, the city's primary saint, from Gerard of Brogne and had also established important cults throughout the province.[57] To this Robert added the first known collection of miracles attributed to St Romanus, which were authored under his patronage

[51] Lapidge, 'Three Latin Poems from Æthelwold's School at Winchester', pp. 101–02; Musset, 'Rouen et l'Angleterre vers l'an mil'.

[52] Van Houts, 'Une hypothèse sur l'identification de *Willelmus notarius*'.

[53] Bouvris, 'L'École capitulaire de Rouen', pp. 91–92; Warner of Rouen, *Moriuht*, ed. and trans. by McDonough, p. 8; Dosdat, 'Les Évêques de la province de Rouen', p. 240.

[54] Bouvris, 'L'École capitulaire de Rouen', p. 90.

[55] The evidence for the position of dean is inconsistent. An individual called Henry is accorded the title in the charter for Saint-Père de Chartres edited in the appendix below, although it should be noted that in one of the post-medieval transcripts, which may be taken from a lost original or from a copy thereof, the word *decanus* has been replaced with *canonicus*. A text of La Trinité-du-Mont de Rouen also claims that its second abbot, Rayner, was dean at the cathedral before becoming a monk in around 1030: Gazeau, *Normannia monastica*, II, 266. The treasurer Herluin is mentioned for the first time in the document recording the display of St Romanus, which is also edited in the appendix to this article.

[56] Bouvris, 'L'École capitulaire de Rouen', pp. 93–97.

[57] Lifshitz, 'The Dossier of Romanus of Rouen', pp. 71–72, 362–66; Lifshitz, *The Norman Conquest of Pious Neustria*, pp. 161–63; Lifshitz, 'La Normandie carolingienne', pp. 516–17.

by a clerk of the church of Saint-Godard de Rouen,[58] while on 26 May 1036 he presided over a display of the body of this same saint, the account of which is edited below. Robert also appears to have brought the relics of St Nicholas to Rouen from Brionne, where they had apparently performed many miracles,[59] while it is also possible the Archbishop tried to export the cult of Norman saints outside the duchy, which, in the case of that of St Taurin, may have been promoted by Robert in Chartres as part of an effort to foster relations between the dukes of Normandy and the counts of Blois.[60]

It seems the Archbishop also helped translate to the cathedral of Rouen the relics of St Severus, a sixth-century Bishop of Avranches.[61] This endeavour not only was related to the improvement of the hagiological credentials of the cathedral, which suffered from a noticeable shortfall in prestigious relics, but was also linked to the reconstitution of the Norman episcopal network, which, as already observed, had been severely disrupted by the Scandinavian incursions of the ninth and tenth centuries.[62] Mathieu Arnoux has noted, in fact, how the decision to translate the relics of a Bishop of Avranches seems to reflect a deliberate policy through which the Archbishop of Rouen attempted to reunite his diocese with that of Avranches, which had been without a bishop since the end of the ninth century.[63] The re-establishment of an episcopal presence at Avranches had, of course, coincided with the election of Robert to the archiepiscopate.[64] But the hagiological appropriation of this westerly diocese, which lay well beyond the sphere of influence of the early Norman dukes, played an important part in the movement whereby ducal authority was re-established in the west, a process that one authority has described as 'an Upper Norman colonisation of Lower Normandy'.[65] This policy had been taken one

[58] Lifshitz, *The Norman Conquest of Pious Neustria*, p. 189.

[59] Le Maho, 'Recherches sur les origines de quelques églises de Rouen', pp. 160–61.

[60] Herrick, *Imagining the Sacred Past*, pp. 31, 33, 37, 53.

[61] 'Beati Severi translatio Rotomagum anno 1089'. The account is dated no more accurately than to the reign of Richard I, and since the Archbishop of Rouen is unnamed, the author may be referring to Hugh of Saint-Denis. It is not unknown, however, for the event to be placed during the reign of Archbishop Robert: Violette, 'L'Église métropolitaine de Rouen', I, 101.

[62] Musset, 'Un millénaire oublié'.

[63] Arnoux, 'Before the *Gesta Normannorum* and Beyond Dudo', pp. 37–38.

[64] The first Bishop of Avranches to be re-established in the see was Norgod. He first appears in the historical record on 15 June 990: *Recueil des actes des ducs de Normandie*, ed. by Fauroux, no. 4.

[65] Bates, *Normandy before 1066*, p. 103.

step further with the bishops of Coutances, who were physically incorporated into the ambit of ducal power, having been translated from the west and established within the church of Saint-Lô de Rouen, an edifice that, perhaps with his financial support, was grandly rebuilt during the course of Robert's reign.[66]

Such endeavours meant that Rouen, and its Archbishop, became the nuclei around which the regeneration of the episcopal network quickly centred. Robert is the first Norman bishop for whom a reasonable number of *acta* survives, and like his literary patronage, these texts, which are edited below, reveal how the Archbishop was committed to ensuring that even records of mundane achievement were successfully transferred from memory to written record. The coordination of large-scale gatherings involving the participation of multiple bishops, a thing of some rarity under Richard I, had, by the reign of Richard II, also become far more frequent, with these meetings taking place either in the Norman capital or in some nearby centre of ducal authority, such as Fécamp.[67] These events, of course, usually involved the participation of the Duke and were probably convened at his instigation. But it seems that Robert did not himself lack the authority to coordinate such reunions, as the charter issued for Saint-Père de Chartres, which is edited below, clearly demonstrates. It is possible that the Archbishop used these occasions to advise his suffragans on how best to reconstitute episcopal authority in their own dioceses, and it was certainly not unknown for other Norman bishops to look to Robert to confirm, by his authority, the possessions of their cathedrals.[68]

This activity had a profound effect on the Norman capital. Rouen became an increasingly respected spiritual centre, which welcomed both established men of religion, such as Abbot Enguerrand of Saint-Riquier, a disciple of Fulbert of Chartres,[69] who received a pallium from the Archbishop,[70] as well as those seeking conversion to the faith, such as the Norwegian king Olaf Haraldsson, who was allegedly baptized by the Archbishop of Rouen during his visit to the city in

[66] Le Maho, 'Une église rouennaise autour de l'an mil'.

[67] Such arguments are based on charter subscriptions, which show Robert in the company of three of his suffragans on six occasions (*Recueil des actes des ducs de Normandie*, ed. by Fauroux, nos 21, 31, 34, 36, 47, 69), with four on one (no. 64), with five on two (nos 33, 49), and with all six on three (nos 4, 35; Bulst, *Untersuchungen zu den Klosterreformen Wilhelms von Dijon*, pp. 223–36).

[68] *Antiquus cartularius ecclesiae Baiocensis*, ed. by Bourrienne, i, no. xxi.

[69] Enguerrand studied under Fulbert in the school of Chartres: Hariulf, *Chronique de l'Abbaye de Saint-Riquier*, ed. by Lot, p. 195.

[70] *Recueil des actes des ducs de Normandie*, ed. by Fauroux, no. 20.

1014.[71] This event alone demonstrates the respect accorded to the Archbishop and his city in the Scandinavian world and goes some way to confirm the portrait of Rouen painted by Dudo of Saint-Quentin as a vibrant cosmopolitan centre.[72] The ducal court at Rouen was also staffed by men of religious renown, such as Arnulf, Abbot of Saint-Père de Chartres (*c.* 1022–33), who served Richard II as his confessor,[73] a position he perhaps owed to the influence of the Archbishop of Rouen, who was a generous benefactor of his house.[74] Foreign scholars, in particular Italians, were also imported into Rouen and other parts of Normandy,[75] and it was from Rouen that an increasingly sophisticated monastic network was administered and expanded, which by the end of Robert's archiepiscopate included abbeys newly restored or founded in all but one of the Norman dioceses. The diplomatic evidence reveals that Robert was frequently involved in the enrichment of these houses,[76] while the Archbishop also dedicated a number of the completed abbey churches, including that of La Trinité-du-Mont de Rouen on 15 August 1030.[77] Robert also seems to have exerted considerable influence over the abbey of Saint-Taurin d'Évreux, since Robert I sought to remove this from his control during the opening years of his reign.[78]

[71] *The Gesta Normannorum ducum*, ed. and trans. by van Houts, II, 26–28; Wace, *The Roman de Rou*, trans. by Burgess, part III, ll. 1823–24.

[72] See in particular Dudo's famous statement that Rouen was a port 'quem vegetat Belgicus, et Celticus, Anglicus': Dudo of Saint-Quentin, *De moribus et actis primorum Normanniae ducum*, ed. by Lair, p. 224; Dudo of Saint-Quentin, *History of the Normans*, trans. by Christiansen, p. 100: 'The meeting place of the Belgian, Celt, and Angle'. See also Leonie Hicks's essay in this volume.

[73] 'Cuius vita et innocentia ea tempestate eo rutilabat, ut ab Odone, palatino comite, ad modum diligeretur, atque Richardi Normanniae comitis confessor fieret, cuius sepe honorificentiis fruebatur': *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Père de Chartres*, ed. by Guérard, I, 119–20. The Duke can be identified as Richard II, since the author goes on to relate how he gave to Arnulf the church of Saint-Gervais et Saint-Protais de Rouen: *Recueil des actes des ducs de Normandie*, ed. by Fauroux, p. 24. It is possible the Archbishop of Rouen also played a part in securing this donation for the Abbot.

[74] See below, no. 2 in the appendix.

[75] *Jezebel*, ed. by Ziolkowski, p. 40.

[76] For a full list of Robert's appearances in the diplomatic record, see Allen, 'The Norman Episcopate', I, 293–94.

[77] *Regesta regum Anglo-Normannorum*, ed. by Bates, no. 235. Robert also dedicated the abbey of Saint-Wandrille, to which he helped translate the relics of St Vulfran, on 12 September 1033: 'Inventio et miracula sancti Vulfranni', ed. by Laporte, pp. 44, 50–51.

[78] Gazeau, 'Monachisme et aristocratie autour de Saint-Taurin d'Évreux et du Bec', p. 95;

As this last statement suggests, however, the final years of Robert's archiepiscopate were not without their difficulties. Relations between the Archbishop and his young nephew, Robert I, could sometimes be fraught, often with adverse consequences for Rouen itself. It is possible, for example, that the Archbishop was at the head of those citizens of Rouen who, according to a chronicle compiled from various medieval *rouennais* texts, opposed the succession of Robert I, prompting the Duke to march his army to the Norman capital, in response to which the rebels burned the bridge across the Seine and blockaded the gates of the city walls.[79] The Archbishop of Rouen certainly seems to have angered the new Duke for some reason towards the beginning of his reign, since he was besieged at Évreux by Robert I and was exiled from the duchy shortly thereafter. The exact cause of the dispute between the two men is unknown,[80] although it is possible that Archbishop Robert was unhappy with the spoliation of church property that had accompanied the Duke's rise to power.[81] It soon became clear, however, that the Archbishop's presence in the duchy was vital to its governance, and using the situation to his advantage, Robert secured from the Duke the confirmations of cathedral possessions discussed above, the issuance of which David Douglas described as 'a sort of treaty'.[82]

Potts, *Monastic Revival and Regional Identity in Early Normandy*, p. 67.

[79] 'Defuncto namque praedicti Roberti germano, Richardo scilicet, quum ad Rotomagensem metropolim, quae caput Neustrie est, iam dictus Robertus cum suo exercitu devenisset, cives eiusdem urbis ad invicem conspirantes et eum ducem habere nolentes, arma corripiunt, Sequanae pontem destruunt, portas omnesque aditus per circuitum civitatis occludunt': *Normanniae nova chronica*, ed. by Delisle, Charma, and Chéruel, p. 3. For discussion of this text, which is a compendium of material taken from the annals of Rouen cathedral, the annals of the priory of Saint-Lô de Rouen, and the annals of the abbey of La Trinité-du-Mont de Rouen, all of which were themselves based on earlier material, see *Les Annales de l'abbaye Saint-Pierre de Jumièges*, ed. by Laporte, pp. 19–20.

[80] William of Jumièges says no more than that the Duke became 'suspicious' of the Archbishop at the beginning of his reign: *The Gesta Normannorum ducum*, ed. and trans. by van Houts, II, 48. Contemporary reference to the hostilities can be found in the letter sent by Fulbert of Chartres to the Archbishop of Rouen: *The Letters and Poems of Fulbert of Chartres*, ed. and trans. by Behrends, no. 126.

[81] Douglas, *William the Conqueror*, p. 32. It is also possible that there was some unease between the two men following the death of Richard III (5 or 6 August 1027), and posterity certainly wasted little time in accusing Robert of fratricide: William of Malmesbury, *Gesta regum Anglorum*, ed. by Mynors, Thomson, and Winterbottom, I, 308.

[82] Douglas, 'The Earliest Norman Counts', p. 132; Douglas, *William the Conqueror*, p. 33.

The rest of Robert I's reign passed for the Archbishop without similar confrontation,[83] and following his return from France, Robert quickly established a position of prominence within the court of his nephew similar to that which he had enjoyed in those of his father and his brother. The physical state of Rouen Cathedral may also have benefited from this improvement in ducal-archiepiscopal relations, as it is possible that a new phase of construction at the site was directly linked to the reconstitution of the cathedral's temporal possessions.[84]

Robert, however, did not always act at this time to the benefit of the ducal capital. Perhaps aware that he was nearing the end of his life, the Archbishop began to prepare his children's inheritance, which he often augmented with possessions alienated from the cathedral and neighbouring abbeys. He gave the cathedral land of Martin-Église, for example, to his son Richard shortly after issuing the charters of restitution with Robert I,[85] while he would eventually do the same for the domain of Douvrend,[86] which was not restored to the cathedral until the time of Archbishop Geoffrey Brito (1111–28).[87] He also gave this same son the land of Trait, which he usurped from the abbey of Jumièges,[88] and the church of Gravigny, which he took from the monastery of La Trinité-du-Mont de Rouen.[89] It is also possible Robert alienated the cathedral land of Normanville to Humphrey of Vieilles, patriarch of the great Beaumont family.[90] But if institutions of Rouen had been impoverished by

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[83] Indeed, having resolved his own problems with the Duke, the Archbishop adopted the role of peacemaker, brokering an agreement between the dukes of Normandy and Brittany at Mont-Saint-Michel in the early 1030s: *The Gesta Normannorum ducum*, ed. and trans. by van Houts, ii, 78.

[84] Le Maho, 'Les Fouilles de la cathédrale de Rouen', p. 37, n. 79.

[85] *Regesta regum Anglo-Normannorum*, ed. by Bates, no. 230. For discussion of the date, see Violette, 'L'Église métropolitaine de Rouen', i, 20–22.

[86] *Recueil des actes des ducs de Normandie*, ed. by Fauroux, no. 10. This usurpation probably occurred shortly before the Archbishop's death: Bauduin, *La Première Normandie*, p. 345, n. 124.

[87] Rouen, Arch. dép. de la Seine-Maritime, G 939; Rouen, BM, MS Y 44 Omont 1193, fol. 47ᵛ.

[88] *Les Annales de l'abbaye Saint-Pierre de Jumièges*, ed. by Laporte, p. 84. Trait, Seine-Maritime, canton Duclair.

[89] *Recueil des actes des ducs de Normandie*, ed. by Fauroux, no. 201. Gravigny, Eure, canton Évreux-nord.

[90] Bauduin, *La Première Normandie*, p. 330. Normanville, Eure, canton Évreux-nord.

these actions, those elsewhere in the duchy had been considerably improved.
The alienations made in favour of his son Richard, for example, became part
of the domain of the counts of Évreux, helping to increase the wealth of this
comté, which in turn helped further stabilize the duchy's south-eastern fron-
tier.[91] Similarly, the alienation of Normanville may have been linked to a policy
by which an allied lineage was implanted in the Évrecin to help consolidate the
Norman presence there.[92]

  Robert's long archiepiscopate finally came to an end on 16 March 1037.[93]
The minority of William the Conqueror, which had been occasioned by the
death of his father on pilgrimage to Jerusalem, a journey the Archbishop him-
self helped prepare,[94] had allowed Robert to rise to a position of unrivalled
power and influence within the duchy.[95] But in spite of all that he contributed
to the life of the Norman realm, and to that of its principal city, it seems that
Robert did not chose Rouen as his final resting place. Convention states instead
that he was interred in the abbey of Saint-Père de Chartres,[96] a most appropri-
ate place given that he had been an active patron of the house,[97] and that it
was also the final resting place of his close friend and colleague Fulbert, Bishop
of Chartres.[98] But arguments critical of this tradition, which seems to be an
invention of the seventeenth century, have been voiced since the end of the
nineteenth,[99] while modern scholars have long noted how a thirteenth-century

[91] Bauduin, *La Première Normandie*, pp. 340–49.

[92] Bauduin, *La Première Normandie*, p. 330.

[93] The day and month are given by the obituaries of Jumièges and Mont-Saint-Michel: 'Ex
obituario Gemmeticensi', p. 418; 'Notae monasterii Montis Sancti Michaelis', p. 577. For discus-
sion, see Douglas, *William the Conqueror*, p. 39, n. 4. The year is given by various Norman annals:
Les Annales de l'abbaye Saint-Pierre de Jumièges, ed. by Laporte, p. 54; 'Annales Uticenses', ed.
by Le Prévost, p. 156; 'Annalis historia brevis sive Chronica monasterii S. Stephani Cadomensis',
ed. by Giles, p. 165; Den Haag, KB, MS 128 E 14, fol. 9ᵛ.

[94] *The Gesta Normannorum ducum*, ed. and trans. by van Houts, II, 80.

[95] De Boüard, *Guillaume le Conquérant*, pp. 103–04; Douglas, *William the Conqueror*,
p. 34.

[96] *Gallia Christiana in provincias ecclesiasticas distributa*, XI, col. 28; Bouquet, 'Épitaphe
d'un archevêque de Rouen'; Le Maho, 'Les Fouilles de la cathédrale de Rouen', p. 39.

[97] See below, no. 2 in the appendix.

[98] Fulbert's tomb, which is no longer visible, was probably near the principal entrance to
the choir of the present church: Lecocq, 'Dissertation historique et archéologique sur la ques-
tion', esp. pp. 321–56.

[99] Merlet, 'Le Tombeau attribué à Robert de Normandie'.

tomb, traditionally identified as that of the Archbishop,[100] looks more like that of an abbot.[101] It seems, in fact, that a twelfth-century cartulary reference to a tomb in the abbey of 'a certain Robert, son of count Richard',[102] which was once interpreted as an allusion to the tomb of the Archbishop of Rouen, actually relates to the burial of Robert Danus,[103] a brother of Robert who died as a young child.[104]

It does seem, however, that Robert was buried outside the Norman capital, since there is no known tradition within the Rouen community for a burial within the city (or anywhere else).[105] The true location must, for the moment, remain unknown, but even if we can be fairly confident that Robert was not buried at Saint-Père de Chartres, it is important to note that its monks were

[100] Only a drawing of this tomb survives: Oxford, Bodl. Lib., MS Gough drawings-Gaignières, vol. 9, fol. 48ʳ.

[101] Sauerländer, 'Zu einem unbekannten Fragment im Museum in Chartres', p. 302.

[102] 'quidem Rodberti filii comitis Richardi': *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Père de Chartres*, ed. by Guérard, I, 121.

[103] 'Roberto cognomine Dano, qui defunctus sepultus est apud sanctum Petrum Carnoti': 'Translatio secunda corporis beati Audoeni', p. 824. He is remembered in the abbey's necrology: *Obituaires de la province de Sens*, ed. by Molinier and Longnon, p. 193.

[104] The point is essentially made by René Merlet, but his arguments are confused. Recognizing that the evidence for the Archbishop's burial in the abbey seemed to rest on a mis-interpretation of the reference in the cartulary, he noted that a Robert, son of a Count Richard, was remembered in the necrology of Saint-Père and argued that this was the individual to whose tomb the author of the cartulary was referring. The individual in the necrology is, of course, Robert Danus, son of Richard I, but Merlet identified him as an unknown son of Richard II. The source of his confusion was a funerary plaque which was discovered in the abbey of Fécamp on 7 October 1710. This recalled the burial of another Robert, also identified as a young boy and also identified as a son of a Count Richard, which Merlet, unaware of the reference in the *translatio* of St Ouen to the burial of Robert Danus in Saint-Père (see previous note), believed was related to this son of Richard I: Merlet, 'Le Tombeau attribué à Robert de Normandie', p. 348, n. 2. To which Norman duke the Robert mentioned on the Fécamp plaque relates is unclear, but Richard I is known to have had five sons with his wife Gunnor, one whose identity is unknown. It is possible, therefore, that Richard I had three sons with Gunnor named Robert, two of whom died in childhood and who were buried in the abbeys of Fécamp and Saint-Père.

[105] The cathedral community did not even promote the idea that he was buried at Saint-Père, this tradition being entirely *chartrain* in origin. The true location seems to have been for-gotten at Rouen by at least 1070, for a *gesta episcoporum*, which was written at the cathedral around this date, records the location of the tombs of all but two of the eleventh-century arch-bishops, one of whom is Robert: Allen, 'The *Acta archiepiscoporum Rotomagensium*: Study and Edition', pp. 38–41.

prepared, intentionally or not, to distort their own history in order to associ-
ate their house with the Archbishop of Rouen. It is unfortunate, however, that
Robert should not have wanted to lend the authority of his memory to the city
he had governed for almost half a century. But in choosing not to be buried in
Rouen Cathedral, which would not be completed until 1063,[106] he followed an
example set by the vast majority of his predecessors.[107] His contributions were
enough, moreover, to ensure his reputation survived in the post-reform world,
and although certain twelfth-century chroniclers still spoke of him critically,[108]
Robert was certainly more than the prelate whom Jean-François Lemarignier
dismissed as having little to be said in his favour.[109] He was an educated man,
an apparent patron of the arts, a lover of literature, a possible promoter of
monastic reforming ideals, and even an architect and designer far ahead of his
contemporaries. His simultaneous position as metropolitan and count gave
him a unique position to influence the destiny of the Norman capital, and it
was an opportunity he never seems to have squandered. Robert's full impor-
tance could, of course, never be fully memorialized without a tomb around
which such festivities could revolve, a fact emphasized by his absence from the
obituary of Rouen Cathedral.[110] But the spiritual and physical infrastructure
that he left in place, many traces of which can still be seen today, is perhaps
greater testament to the significance of his archiepiscopate than any sepulchral
monument.

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[106] Allen, 'The *Acta archiepiscoporum Rotomagensium*: Study and Edition', p. 40.

[107] It is only with the internment of Archbishop Maurilius (1055–67) that we can note
with certainty the establishment of a tradition for burying former archbishops in the basilica
itself. For details of the location of various other archbishops of Rouen, see Violette, 'L'Église
métropolitaine de Rouen', i, 90–95.

[108] Orderic Vitalis complained Robert was a man who 'did not deny himself the delights
of the flesh as a bishop should': Orderic Vitalis, *The Ecclesiastical History*, ed. and trans. by
Chibnall, iii, 84.

[109] Lemarignier, *Étude sur les privilèges d'exemption*, pp. 32–33.

[110] 'E Rotomagensis ecclesiae necrologio', p. 361.

The acta *of Robert, Archbishop of Rouen*

I have defined Robert's *acta*, for the purposes of this appendix, in a broad sense. Four charters and one document which was not issued by Robert himself, but which was most likely drawn up under his guidance, are still extant. Two of the charters were issued in conjunction with Duke Robert I, and have consequently been subject to critical editions elsewhere.[1] The remaining documents have never been edited to similar standards. The editorial method followed here is that of the *English Episcopal Acta* series,[2] with the exception that references are given to post-medieval transcripts. Variants of these transcripts are, however, not noted, unless their presumed exemplar appears to be no longer extant. In these cases only significant variant readings are recorded. A catalogue entry for a manuscript destroyed on 26 May 1944 seems to refer to two lost charters of the Archbishop, one of which was perhaps another copy of the Chartres text below, and the other a charter issued in favour of the abbey of Évron.[3]

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[1] *Recueil des actes des ducs de Normandie*, ed. by Fauroux, nos 66, 67.

[2] *English Episcopal Acta*, i, ed. by Smith, pp. lxi–lxiv.

[3] The manuscript in question is Chartres, BM, MS 23. The catalogue entry for fols 5–8 begins, 'Chartes diverses pour l'abbaye de Saint-Père, parmi lesquelles nous signalerons deux privilèges de l'archevêque de Rouen, Robert, pour l'abbaye et pour Evron': Omont, *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France*, p. 10.

1. *Robert, Archbishop of Rouen, gives to the abbey of Saint-Wandrille the tithe of the part that he receives for large fish caught on the banks of Saint-Marcouf,[4] a hospes at [Saint-Martin-de]-Varreville,[5] and the tithe of the sheep and pigs fed in this same place.* [c. 989 × 1037]

B = Rouen, Arch. dép. de la Seine-Maritime, 16 H 14, fol. 325ᵛ. Fourteenth-century cartulary.

C = BnF, MS lat. 17132, fol. 33ʳ⁻ᵛ. Fifteenth-century cartulary copy from a lost *vidimus* of Philip V, dated November 1319.

D = Rouen, Arch. dép. de la Seine-Maritime, 16 H 20, pp. 2088–89. Seventeenth-century cartulary.

E = BnF, Coll. Baluze, vol. 58, fol. 99ʳ. Seventeenth-century abbreviated copy by André Duchesne.

F = BnF, MS nouv. acq. lat. 1246, fol. 223ʳ. Eighteenth-century copy (from E).

G = BnF, MS nouv. acq. fr. 21816, fol. 149ʳ. Nineteenth-century abbreviated copy by Léopold Delisle (from B).

Ptd. Lot, *Études critiques sur l'abbaye de Saint-Wandrille*, no. 18 (from BC).

Note. Ferdinand Lot dated this act to the last two years of the Archbishop's reign because he felt this charter was related to another issued by William the Conqueror.[6] His reasoning does not stand up to closer inspection, and since the act contains no other chronological reference point, it can only be broadly dated by the reign of Archbishop Robert.

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[4] Saint-Marcouf, Manche, canton Montebourg.

[5] Saint-Martin de Varreville, Manche, canton Sainte-Mère-Église.

[6] *Recueil des actes des ducs de Normandie*, ed. by Fauroux, no. 128.

B

Omnibus hec[a] lecturis presentibus et futuris Rob(er)tus Rothomagensium[b] Dei nutu presul salutis ac pacis incrementum. Cum constet omnia Deum condidisse, nulli dubium preter[c] cetera hominem quoque creasse, qui cum ex duobus constet, secundum unum inmortalis[d] est. Id vero anima est, que quanto pretiosior sit corpore liquet, cum corpus absque ea pene nichil extet. Quod vero melius est: pluris pendendum est, pauca[e] igitur debentur corpori,[f] plura vero anime saluti. Sed[g] hic versa vice mos increvit[h] ut pauca aut nulla, cui multa ac[i] potius cuncta debentur, cui vero minima vel queque[j] extrema debentur, plura et sepius omnia dependantur. Inde est quod ego Rob(er)tus Rothomagensium,[k] divinitate propitia, archipresul, cum presentium pluribus affluam,[l] pauca[m] ob anime mee,[n] pio[o] Ihesu qui centuplicata rependere suevit superque[p] usuram perhempnis[q] vite de meis dono: potius vero de suis sibi reddo, pauperibus suis enim,[r] id est fratribus Fontinelle cenobii quod sacratum habetur in honore beati Petri et omnium apostolorum almique patris Wand(regisili)[s] simulque omnium sanctorum largior decimam partis que me contingit ex crasso pisse[t] qui capitur[u] in omni preripio Sancti Marculfi et unum hospitem in Werethvilla,[v] decimam quorum[w] ovium[x] mearum sed et[y] porcorum in eadem villa alitorum.[z]

a. hoc *D*.

b. Rothomag' *C*.

c. propter *D*.

d. mortalis *C*.

e. pauci *D*.

f. torperi (*sic*) *D*.

g. Set *C*.

h. merent (*sic*) *C*.

i. aut *D*.

j. quecumque *C*; queque queque (*sic*) *D*.

k. Rotho(ma)g' Rob(er)tus *C*.

l. aflluam *D*.

m. pauci *D*.

n. salutem *add. C*.

o. *superscript above an erasure in B*.

p. supra quam *D*.

q. perhennis *C*; perhemnis *D*.

r. enim suis *C*.

s. Wa(n)dreg(isili) *C*; Wandregisilli *D*.

t. pisce *C*.

u. accipitur *C*.

v. Warethivilla *C*.

w. decimamque *C*; quoque *D*.

x. omnium *D*.

y. etiam *D*.

z. -i- *superscript in a later hand B*.

2. *Robert, Archbishop of Rouen, with the consent of his suffragans, frees the church of Fontenay-[Saint-Père] and the priory of Juziers,[7] which belong to the abbey of Saint-Père de Chartres, from the interference of bishops and archdeacons.*   [c. 1025 × c. 1026]

B = Chartres, BM, MS 1060 (H.1.49), fol. 76[r]. Early twelfth-century cartulary (*Cartulaire d'Aganon*), destroyed 26 May 1944.[8]

C = Chartres, BM, MS 1061 (H.1.50), unknown folio. A second twelfth-century copy of the *Cartulaire d'Aganon*, destroyed 26 May 1944, of which two fragments containing the text of Robert's charter survive: cotes provisoires t. 1, frag. 15B and t. 2, frag. 7A.

D = Chartres, Arch. dép., Eure-et-Loir, H 507. Fourteenth-century *vidimus* by the *official de Chartres*, dated 27 September 1371 (from either B or C).

E = BnF, MS fr. 24133, p. 217. Seventeenth-century copy by Guillaume Laisné (no source given).

F = BnF, MS lat. 10048, fol. 160[r]. Seventeenth-century copy by Arthur Du Monstier ('extat in Tabulario Aganonis S. Petri Carnotensis').

G = BnF, MS lat. 5417, p. 397. Seventeenth-century abbreviated copy (from B).

H = BnF, MS lat. 17044, p. 1. Seventeenth-century abbreviated copy by Gaignières (from B).

I = BnF, MS lat. 12779, fol. 189[r–v]. Seventeenth-century copy (from B)

J = Chartres, BM, MS 1136, vol. 1, fol. 85[r–v] (formerly pp. 157–58). Eighteenth-century copy (from B).

K = BnF, Coll. du. Vexin, vol. 8, pp. 71–72. Eighteenth-century copy by Levrier ('Du chartrier de St Père en Vallée').

L = BnF, Coll. du. Vexin, vol. 11, fol. 116[r–v]. Eighteenth-century copy by Levrier (apparently from J).

[7] Fontenay-Saint-Père and Juziers, Yvelines, canton Limay.

[8] Like MS C, fragments of this manuscript survived the fire of 1944, although it seems that none contain the text of the Archbishop's act. The fragments have been restored and photographed as part of the project 'Chartres, restitution d'un fonds de manuscrits médiévaux', which is being organized at the Institut de recherche et d'histoire des textes (IRHT) by Dominique Poirel, to whom I am extremely grateful for providing me with images of MS C. The photographs of the fragments of MSS B and C have since been made available via the Bibliothèque virtuelle des manuscrits médiévaux (BVMM; <http://bvmm.irht.cnrs.fr>). The folio number for MS B is known from an eighteenth-century inventory: Chartres, Arch. dép., Eure-et-Loir, H 3, p. 2.

M = BnF, Coll. du. Vexin, vol. 20, fol. 23ᵛ. Eighteenth-century copy by Levrier (from B).

N = BnF, Coll. Moreau, vol. 20, fols 30ʳ–31ʳ. Eighteenth-century abbreviated copy (from F).

Ptd. Gallia Christiana in provincias ecclesiasticas distributa, VIII, instrumenta, cols 297–98; *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Père de Chartres*, ed. by Guérard, I, no. IV, pp. 115–16 (from BC); *Patrologia Latina*, ed. by Migne, CLV, cols 268–69 (from Guérard).

Note. Although large fragments of **C** have survived, much of the text is still difficult to read due to a darkening of the parchment and a bleeding of the ink. The edition below is therefore based on **D**, although the variants of **C** are noted whenever possible. Levrier claimed that the second of his three transcriptions (**L**) was taken from 'Recueil de l'abbaye, p. 581', which seems to be a garbled reference to **J** in which the page numbers have been inverted. Certain features of **E** suggest it was copied from an original charter, or at least from a faithful copy of such a document. The text with which this transcription opens can be found in a slightly different version in the *Cartulaire d'Aganon*, which in Benjamin Guérard's edition appears after Robert's act.[9] The surviving fragments of **C** confirm this was the case. Manuscript **E** also places the witnesses in two columns (seventeen names on the left, and thirteen on the right), and all but the last four attestations are preceded by a cross, while all the names are in the genitive case. The document from which **E** was made is perhaps the charter catalogued by Henri Omont, which is discussed above. Unfortunately, neither an unknown original charter, nor manuscripts **BC**, nor manuscript **D** are listed in the inventory of charters for the priory of Juziers,[10] although **D** is recorded in an eighteenth-century inventory,[11] as is the cartulary copy **B**.[12] Levrier proposed that the three witnesses following the bishops (William, Richard, and Ralph) are the Archbishop's sons, which is not impossible.[13] The act is dated by the election of Radbod, Bishop of Sées, and the end of the episcopate of Maugis, Bishop of Avranches.

[9] *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Père de Chartres*, ed. by Guérard, I, no. V, pp. 116–17.

[10] Chartres, Arch. dép., Eure-et-Loir, H 7, fols 139ʳ–254ʳ.

[11] Chartres, Arch. dép., Eure-et-Loir, H 1, fol. 333ᵛ.

[12] Chartres, Arch. dép., Eure-et-Loir, H 3, p. 2.

[13] BnF, Coll. du. Vexin, vol. 11, fol. 116ᵛ.

D

Deo et domino nostro Ihesu[(a)] Christo presidente. Decernimus, ego Rodbertus,[(b)] gratia Dei Rothomagi[(c)] archipresul, et coepiscopi nostri Herbertus Lisive civitatis, Rodbertus[(d)] Constantie, Radbodus[(e)] Saxie, Hugo civitatis Ebroice, decernimus, inquam, atque[(f)] sanccimus,[(g)] ut ecclesia de Fontinido,[(h)] pro amore et honore sancti Petri, apostolorum principis et magistri nostri, ab hac die imperpetuum[(i)] ab omni sit inquietudine tam episcopi quam archidiaconi remota, eodem modo quo et Gesiaci[(j)] cella Sancti Petri Carnoten(sis) cenobii, cui illa ecclesia est subiecta, ab omni, inquam, respectu et inquietudine permaneat secura, tribus hiis solummodo exceptis, videlicet ipsius ecclesie reconciliatione, olei[(k)] et sacri crismatis[(l)] perceptione, et penitentium reconciliatione.[(m)] Que omnia, sicut opus fuerit, ab episcopo cuius est diocesis postulentur, et ab eodem gratis et absque ulla[(n)] premii postulatione vel, datione, propter[(o)] honorem sancti Petri, conferantur, ut et nos et successores nostros ab omni iugo peccati dignetur absolvere supradicti magistri nostri potestas et misericordia. Et ut hec notitia inconcussa permaneat,[(p)] manibus nostris eam roborauimus, signo[(q)] quoque et nominibus corroborauimus, et Guascelino archidiacono, cui sub me propius intererat, consignandam et confirmandam et aliis clericis et laicis nostris[(r)] proposuimus. Si quis vero antichristus hoc pietatis opus, quod in Dei nomine cudimus, attaminare temptaverit, ex ore veri Christi et nostrorum omnium, quos vocare dignatus est Christianos suos, anathematis gladio iuguletur. Hanc autem[(s)] sugillationem[(t)] vel, ut ita dicam,[(u)] sigillationem singuli[(v)]

a. Iesu *E.*

b. *E has* Rotbertus *throughout*

c. Rothomagensium *E.*

d. Rotbertus *C.*

e. Rabodus *C*; Ratbodus *E.*

f. adque *C.*

g. sancimus *E.*

h. Fonteneto *E.*

i. innperpetuum (*sic*) *C.*

j. Gesiacensis *E.*

k. *om. E.*

l. crismatis sacri *E.*

m. consolatione *E.*

n. ullius *E.*

o. Deum et *add. E.*

p. permaneat inconcussa *E.*

q. signis *E.*

r. nostrae *E.*

s. *om. E.*

t. suggillationem *E.*

u. ultimam *add. E.*

v. singulis *E.*

singulorum nominibus coepiscoporum subscribi decernimus.[w] Rodbertus[x] archipresul, qui hoc opus pietatis incepit et perfecit. Rodbertus[y] Constantie, Rodbertus Lisive, Radbodus[z] Saxie, Hugo Ebroas, Maingisus Abrincaru(m), Vuillelmus, Richardus, Rodulphus,[aa] Hugo, Vuascelinus archidiaconus, Heinricus abbas Sancti Audoeni, Balduinus archidiaconus, Heinricus presbiter et decanus, Rodulphus capellanus, Herluinus levita et canonicus, Corbucio, Vuillelmus, Paschasius[bb] capellanus, Rodulphus de Sancto Sancsone, Atto levita et capellanus, Odo prepositus, Odo levita et capellanus, Osmundus Tudeborti, Rogerius filius Hunfridi, Lescelinus, Guimundus parvus, Rogerius filius Odonis prepositi de Noiomo, Albertus hostiarius, Rodulphus filius Osberti.

w. *the witness list in E, which is in two columns, is as follows:*

   + S. Rotberti archipresulis, qui hoc opus pietatis incepit et perfecit. + S. Rotberti episcopi Constantiae. + S. Herberti episcopi Lisivae. + S. Ratbodi episcopi Saxiae. + S. Hugonis episcopi Ebroas. + S. Maingisi Apringarum. + S. Guillelmi. + S. Richardi. + S. Rodulfi. + S. Hugonis. + S. Guascelini archidiaconi. + S. Heinrici abbas S(ancti) Audoeni. + S. Balduini archidiaconi. + S. Heinrici presbiteri et canonici S(anctae) Mariae. + S. Herluini levitae et canonici. + S. Pascharii capellani. + S. Attoniae levitae et capellani. [*Second column*] + S. Odonis levitae et capellani. + S. Rotgerii filii Hufredi. + S. Rogerii filii Odonis praepositi de Noiomo. + S. Alberti ostiarii. + S. Radulfi capellani. + S. Corbutionis. + S. Guillelmi. + S. Rodulfi de S(ancto) Sancsone. + S. Odonis praepositi. S. Osmundi Tudeborti. S. Lescelini. S. Guimundi parvi. S. Rodulfi filii Osberi

x. Rotbertus *C.*
y. Rotbertus *C.*
z. Rabbodus *originally written C.*
aa. *C has* Rodulfus *throughout*
bb. Pascharius *C.*

3. *Robert, Archbishop of Rouen, displays the whole body of St Romanus, which was found in a reliquary belonging to the cathedral.*

26 May 1036

B = Rouen, Arch. dép. de la Seine-Maritime, G 3666. Eighteenth-century *procès-verbal*, which is dated 28 April 1777 (from originals now lost).

Ptd. de Beaurepaire, 'Notice sur les anciens reliquaires de la cathédrale de Rouen', p. 54 (from B).

Note. The details of this *translatio* are preserved in a five-page eighteenth-century *procès-verbal*, which is an inspection of three charters found in the chasse of St Romanus in Rouen. The text edited here is the first of these three, the other two dating from 24 August 1124 and 17 June 1179.[14] It is an important witness to the growth of the beginnings of the cult of St Romanus at the cathedral, which was nurtured in other ways by Archbishop Robert, while the appearance of Herluin the treasurer precedes the next mention of this office by some fifty years.

B

Anno ab incarnatione Domini M.XXX.VI indictione IV. Rodberti praesulis tempore, VII kal(endas) Iunii, vigilia dominicae Ascensionis sollicite quaesitum et in hac ipsa urna vere totum est corpus gloriosi praesulis sanctissimi Romani inventum, teste Gradulfo Fontinellae abbate cum quatuor monachis, praesente domino Hugone archidiacono et Herluino thesaurario cum aliis nonnullis canonicis et laicis testibus idoneis, hicque iterum reconditum devotioni futurorum.

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[14] For a critical edition of the first of these, see Spear, 'The Double Display of Saint Romanus of Rouen', p. 131.

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Archbishops and the City:
Powers, Conflicts, and Jurisdiction in the Parishes of Rouen (Eleventh–Thirteenth Centuries)

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Until now, historical works about bishops and cities in the Middle Ages have focused on the role played by the prelates in the defence of their city in times of political trouble, and on episcopal initiative in building and maintaining cathedrals and/or urban monasteries.[1] If the bishops have sometimes been studied through their relations with urban religious institutions like monasteries and cathedral chapters,[2] their control over parish churches, which constitutes an important aspect of these relations, has been neglected.[3] The city of Rouen is no exception, even though we have more documentation for this Norman episcopal centre up to the end of the thirteenth century than for any other in Normandy. Many documents about Rouen's parish clergy survive which

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[1] For example, see Neveux, 'Les Évêques et les villes de Normandie'.

[2] For Rouen in the eleventh century, see Violette, 'Une entreprise historiographique au temps de la réforme grégorienne'; Violette, 'Une étape décisive dans l'éveil des activités historiographiques'; Allen, '"A Proud and Headstrong Man"'. For the twelfth century, see Spear, 'The Norman Episcopate under Henry I'; Schlunz, 'Archbishop Rotrou of Rouen'; Poggioli, 'From Politician to Prelate'.

[3] The nature of the parish system in Rouen in this period is still very obscure. Musset, 'Rouen au temps des Francs et sous les ducs'; Cailleux, 'Le Développement urbain de la capitale normande'; and Le Maho, 'Coup d'œil sur la ville de Rouen', with the map on p. 174 indicating the churches of whose existence we are sure in 1000.

include information about parish administration and the control of the clergy by the archbishops. The majority of these sources, however, date from the later Middle Ages, when parish documents were made and survive in greater numbers.[4] For the period from the eleventh to the thirteenth century, the documents that provide most of the information about the parishes of Rouen are diplomatic sources (especially ducal, papal, episcopal, and abbatial charters) and the *pouillé* of the diocese established between 1236 and 1244 and completed between 1248 and 1306.[5] In this chapter, we will discuss examples which shed light on archiepiscopal power over the parish churches of Rouen from the eleventh to the thirteenth centuries. We will consider particularly how archbishops controlled, or tried to control, these churches, which were sometimes subject to a strong monastic influence in the central Middle Ages (the influence of the abbey of Saint-Ouen in particular will be examined), and whether this control was uniform across all the parishes of the city. Documents do not exist in the same proportion for all churches in the city: some are quite well documented over two or three centuries; others escape our knowledge because of a total absence of sources.

Archiepiscopal Power and its Limits in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries

The exact nature of archiepiscopal control over the churches of Rouen before the beginning of the thirteenth century is hard to comprehend. Useful documents are few in number and very dispersed: for example, there are no archiepiscopal charters relating to the parish churches of Rouen before 1130. For the period *c*. 1000 to *c*. 1130, therefore, information principally comes from ducal *acta*.

Archiepiscopal Rights Diminished?
Monastic Implantation in the Parishes of Rouen before 1130

Parish churches in Rouen appear in the documentation from the eleventh century onwards.[6] At this point, we have no indication of the usual archiepiscopal

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[4] Tabbagh, 'Le Clergé séculier du diocèse de Rouen'; Tabbagh, 'L'Exercice de la fonction curiale à Rouen'; Bourienne-Savoye, 'Saint-Vincent de Rouen, une paroisse de marchands'.

[5] This *pouillé* was established by Archbishop Peter de Collemezzo (1236–44) and regularly updated, especially to include the names of the new clerics invested by the archbishops in the parish churches, at the time of Eudes Rigaud (1248–75) and Guillaume de Flavacourt (1280–1306). 'Polyptychum Rotomagensis dioecesis'.

[6] This is a trend seen in other archiepiscopal cities in France: see Demouy, *Genèse d'une cathédrale*, p. 256; Gaudemet, 'La Paroisse au Moyen Âge: état des questions', p. 11.

control over these churches. Documented cases in the ducal charters are all gifts or confirmations of churches in favour of Benedictine abbeys. For example, our information concerning the church of Saint-André hors la Ville comes from its donation by Duke Richard II (996–1026) to the monks of Jumièges in 1025.[7] The exact nature of these donations or the context in which monasteries acquired or claimed these churches reveals information about power relations and the respective influence of the main ecclesiastical actors in the city. Documents prior to 1130 suggest that the most important abbeys, in Rouen or Upper Normandy, clearly demonstrated great interest in the churches of Rouen. They actively tried to acquire extended rights in them, for reasons which are not explicitly pointed out in the documents but were presumably financial, linked to the economic development of the city.[8] These rights were sometimes established to the detriment of those of the archbishop, for example in the parishes of Saint-Laurent, Saint-Paul, Saint-Gervais, and Saint-Ouen.

The first interesting case revealing the particular interest of the Benedictines in the churches of Rouen is that of the church of Saint-Laurent. This parish church appears in two ducal charters of the eleventh century in favour of the abbey of Saint-Wandrille, both of which are problematic. According to Marie Fauroux, Saint-Laurent was given to Saint-Wandrille by Duke Richard II, probably in 1025 or 1026.[9] Among all the churches and possessions given or confirmed to the monks by Duke Richard II, Saint-Laurent is the only one which was given explicitly with 'all the customs it received'.[10] The sense of the word *consuetudines* in such a formulation is not easy to understand. Usually, when used in relation to a church, this word refers to the rights a person (in general the duke or a bishop) could exert over the church and the revenues this person received from it. In the case of Saint-Laurent, the formulation is more precise in its usage than in the majority of the documents from the eleventh century. *Consuetudines* seems to refer to the church's revenues, which are not defined precisely.

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[7] *Recueil des actes des ducs de Normandie*, ed. by Fauroux, no. 36. This donation was confirmed by Duke William II: *Regesta regum Anglo-Normannorum*, ed. by Bates, no. 164. For the location of all the parishes of Rouen (*c*. 1300), see Map 4 in Bernard Gauthiez's essay, above. For the location of the monastic houses situated near Rouen, see Maps 1, 2, and 4 in Gauthiez, above.

[8] Musset, 'Rouen au temps des Francs et sous les ducs'.

[9] *Recueil des actes des ducs de Normandie*, ed. by Fauroux, no. 52, version A.

[10] *Recueil des actes des ducs de Normandie*, ed. by Fauroux, no. 52, version A: 'in suburbio supradicte urbis, Sancti Laurenti ecclesiam [cum hospitibus et terra ad eandem ecc]lesiam pertinente, cum omnibus consuetudinibus quas ipsa persolvit'.

In some ways, this formulation is reminiscent of a charter issued by William of La Ferté in 1053 in favour of the abbey of Saint-Julien, Tours, regarding three churches in the diocese of Sées. It is possible that the sense of *consuetudines* for one of these churches, that of Bellou, includes the church's own revenues:[11] tithes, *primitias*, and burial rights. It is likely that these are also the rights referred to in the case of Saint-Laurent, Rouen. Given the uncertainty of the text's formulation and of the definition of the word *consuetudines*, it is possible that, as for Bellou, ducal customs and perhaps even episcopal customs over Saint-Laurent were also granted to the monks of Saint-Wandrille.[12] This is all the more difficult to verify because no other authentic document of this period makes reference to the customs of this church. Nevertheless, it seems that Saint-Laurent was a church in which the monks' rights were extensive, possibly more so than in other churches which belonged to them elsewhere.

What is more interesting than Richard II's original act is the place of this church in documents forged by the monks of Saint-Wandrille some time later. Two documents must be examined. The first is a charter written under the name of Duke Richard II and allegedly given in 1024,[13] but which is actually a forgery from the second half of the eleventh century. The second is a falsified copy, dating from the end of the eleventh century, of the original ducal act of 1025/26 described above.[14] These two acts have a common characteristic: they increase the space in the charter given to the churches and tithes granted to the monks in contrast to the original act of 1025/26, where the churches are

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[11] Denis, *Chartes de Saint-Julien de Tours*, no. 24: 'dono et trado Sancto Juliano monachisque ejus perpetualiter aecclesiam Sancte Marie de Berlo et altare et omnes reditus eorum, decimas scilicet, primitias, sepulturam, sinodalia, circada et omnes forfacturas ad ipsam aecclesiam pertinentes, hoc est sacrilegium, latrocinium, infracturam cimiterii, et cum omnibus commissis episcopo pertinentibus, et quodquod ad presens in his rebus possideo, et in futurum adquirere potuero, cum assensu filiorum meorum genitricisque ipsorum dominique mei Ivonis, Oximorum presulis, de quo prescriptas consuetudines hujus aecclesie et duarum subjectarum in beneficio teneo' (Bellou-en-Houlme, département Orne, canton Messei). In this extract, *consuetudines* either refers to the *forfacturas* and other episcopal rights or to all the rights cited above, including the *reditus* belonging to the church.

[12] Other eleventh-century forged or interpolated charters refer to the church of Saint-Laurent with the *consuetudines* and lack precision: *Recueil des actes des ducs de Normandie*, ed. by Fauroux, nos 27 and 52, version C. In 1142, Archbishop Hugh of Amiens confirmed the gift of the church to the monks with the customs associated with it. The formulation is the same as in the charter of Richard II. Lot, *Études critiques sur l'abbaye de Saint-Wandrille*, no. 73.

[13] *Recueil des actes des ducs de Normandie*, ed. by Fauroux, no. 27.

[14] *Recueil des actes des ducs de Normandie*, ed. by Fauroux, no. 52, version C.

not as numerous and are mixed in with other possessions. It is possible that the main purpose of these charters was to ensure the numerous gifts of churches and tithes received by the monks during the eleventh century by asserting the very ancient and ducal origin of these gifts. In the false charter of Richard II, the church of Saint-Laurent, Rouen, is the first church listed at the beginning of the text, just after the demesnes situated immediately around the abbey (in which the monks had the most significant interest), and after the tithe of the *tonlieu* of Rouen.[15] It seems clear, in the enumeration, that possessions in the city of Rouen occupied a very important place among the lands and rights of Saint-Wandrille.[16]

Analysis of the forged copy of the ducal act of 1025/26 points to a similar conclusion. In the original version, the church of Saint-Laurent is mentioned at the end of the text, among the gifts made by Duke Richard II himself. The falsification essentially consists of a long addition to the list of the gifts made by Duke Richard I (942–96), which Richard II confirmed in the original version. Among these additions, almost all of which are churches and tithes, features the church of Saint-Laurent, Rouen. Saint-Laurent is cited twice and constitutes, for this reason, a very particular case.[17] These elements indicate that, if the monks attributed importance to all the churches they received during the eleventh century, the church of Saint-Laurent, in which they had perhaps received larger rights than in other churches in 1025/26, deserved special attention. No independent evidence exists, however, to demonstrate that episcopal rights over this church had been damaged to a greater or lesser extent at the turn of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. This is not the case for other churches of Rouen in the same period.

Our second example involves the church of Saint-Paul in the eastern suburb of Rouen, given to the nuns of Montivilliers probably between 1035 and 1068/76,[18] as the church does not appear in a charter of Duke Robert the Magnificent (1027–35) of 1035, granting the nuns special privileges including freedom from episcopal customs for eleven parish churches belonging to them

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[15] *Recueil des actes des ducs de Normandie*, ed. by Fauroux, no. 27: 'decimam quoque totius theloeni quod Rothomagi accipitur [et, in suburbio ejusdem] urbis, aecclesiam Sancti Laurentii cum hospitibus et terra ad eandem pertinente et consuetudinibus'.

[16] We do not know exactly why these possessions were so important for the monks, but it is probable that holdings in Rouen were valuable, brought in lucrative revenues, and reinforced the high status of the monastery.

[17] *Recueil des actes des ducs de Normandie*, ed. by Fauroux, no. 52, version C.

[18] Bouvris, 'La Renaissance de l'abbaye de Montivilliers', pp. 37–42.

in the dioceses of Rouen and Lisieux.[19] Between 1068 and 1076, an interpolated version of this ducal charter was redacted and inserted in a *pancarte* of William the Conqueror.[20] Jean-François Lemarignier, who identified the different phases of this interpolated text, considered the main interpolation to be the addition of a clause equating the nuns' privilege with that of the monks of Fécamp. The four other interpolations in the charter of 1035 relate to the definition of 'the possessions' concerned by the privilege.[21] Three of these four interpolations concern churches which are mentioned in the charter of 1035, and so already profited from exemption from episcopal customs. The interpolations regarding these churches are not very precise and do not fundamentally change the content of the initial privilege. On the contrary, the fourth and last interpolation is a real addition to the charter of 1035, concerning some vineyards, the forest of Lillebonne, and, above all, the church of Saint-Paul and its dependencies.[22] This church is the only one added in 1068/76 to the initial privilege and the only one in which the nuns specifically tried, by modifying the original charter of Duke Robert, to extend their freedom from episcopal custom. This suggests that the nuns took great interest in their possession in Rouen. No document provides information about the Archbishop's reaction at the time.

In the twelfth century, only two documents mention the church of Saint-Paul, but these lack detail about the exact rights of the nuns and the archbishop.[23] Papal bulls written in 1192 and 1203 could even lead us to think that the nuns did not have any special rights in the parish of Saint-Paul at the turn of the thirteenth century.[24] However, documents of 1216–18, which will be examined

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[19] For this freedom of episcopal customs, see Lemarignier, *Étude sur les privilèges d'exemption*, pp. 46–49 and App. I. Paul Le Cacheux confuses and mixes the privilege of exemption concerning an abbey and the freedom of episcopal customs in some churches belonging to an abbey: Le Cacheux, 'Le Fonds de l'officialité de Montivilliers'.

[20] *Regesta regum Anglo-Normannorum*, ed. by Bates, no. 212.

[21] Lemarignier, *Étude sur les privilèges d'exemption*, p. 235, App. I.

[22] Lemarignier, *Étude sur les privilèges d'exemption*, p. 244, App. I: 'in Vadine tredecim arpenta vineae; in Rotomago, ecclesiam Sancti Pauli cum aliis quae pertinent; omnia ad usus suos in silva Juliaebonae dedit Richardus comes'.

[23] The first document is a royal charter of Henry II (*Recueil des actes de Henri II*, ed. by Delisle and Berger, II, no. 467), and the second document is a bull of Pope Celestine III, dated 1192 (Rouen, Arch. dép. de la Seine-Maritime, 54 H 3).

[24] Innocent III's bull in 1203 copies and completes Celestine III's bull written in 1192. Both bulls are confirmations of many possessions belonging to the nunnery, including the

below, clearly show that, at this time, the nuns refused to recognize episcopal rights over their church of Saint-Paul. In conclusion, we do not know exactly what the situation of Saint-Paul was in the twelfth century, but it is probable that the archbishop's rights over this parish were non-existent. This undermining of archiepiscopal rights over a church of Rouen is not an isolated case.

The case of the church of Saint-Gervais, in the western suburb of the city, and the abbey of Fécamp, is similar to that of Saint-Paul and Montivilliers. The abbey of Fécamp received the *abbatia* of Saint-Gervais by a gift of Duke Richard II in 1025.[25] Like all the other churches given to the abbey in this period, Saint-Gervais did not benefit from exemption from episcopal rights. It is, however, one of eight churches added in a papal bull of 1103 to the twelve churches over which the monks of Fécamp had usurped episcopal rights between 1025 and 1090.[26] The monks of Fécamp seem to have had a special interest in Saint-Gervais similar to that of the nuns of Montivilliers in Saint-Paul. Indeed, this church is the only one to be the subject of a particular document, intended to justify the monastic usurpation of episcopal rights. A forged charter, attributed to William the Conqueror, recorded that Saint-Gervais had been granted to Fécamp free from all service due to the archbishop, like the abbey was itself.[27] The origin of this text, known by a late supposed original (according to David Bates, possibly written in the fourteenth century), is unknown.[28] Although the monks' extensive rights to Saint-Gervais, as to the other churches included in their papal privilege came from an initial usurpation, they proved very durable.

churches given to the nuns in the eleventh century, but the freedom from all episcopal customs then applied to these churches is not mentioned. For Innocent III's bull, see Hall and Sweeney, 'An Unpublished Privilege of Innocent III', no. 4. According to the authors of this paper, the absence of freedom from episcopal custom (or of any special inherited right of this freedom) in the bull can be explained by the abbesses' lack of attention to administration before 1216.

[25] *Recueil des actes des ducs de Normandie*, ed. by Fauroux, no. 34: 'item, abbatiam Sancti Gervasii que est juxta civitatem Rotomagum et quicquid ad ipsum pertinet, cum integritate'. The word *abbatia* seems to indicate that Saint-Gervais had been a monastery, probably during the pre-Norman period. Lucien Musset did not study it in detail in his paper: Musset, 'Monachisme d'époque franque et monachisme d'époque ducale', see pp. 60–61, n. 21. If true, this origin of Saint-Gervais could explain the importance of this church for the monks of Fécamp.

[26] The question of Fécamp's privileges of exemption and jurisdiction is treated in detail in Lemarignier, *Étude sur les privilèges d'exemption*, pp. 32–38, 50–62.

[27] *Regesta regum Anglo-Normannorum*, ed. by Bates, no. 148; Delisle, *Histoire du château et des sires de Saint-Sauveur le Vicomte*, no. 43 (see also Haskins, *Norman Institutions*, rev. edn, no. 11: 'ab omni servitio archiepiscopali [...] sicut Fiscampni abbatia').

[28] *Regesta regum Anglo-Normannorum*, ed. by Bates, no. 148.

Between 1159 and 1164, Archbishop Hugh of Amiens (1130–64/65) ratified the monks' possession of Saint-Gervais 'free from all archiepiscopal rights'.[29] The archbishop, therefore, did not have any power over this church, which lay outside his authority, and this is why Saint-Gervais is not mentioned in the *pouillé* written between 1236 and 1244.[30]

The case of the parish of Saint-Ouen, dependent on the abbey of the same name, is complex and has never been studied in detail. We have no direct information about this parish dating to before the beginning of the twelfth century. To understand its situation, it is necessary to analyse three charters of Archbishop Hugh of Amiens, which describe the abbey's rights in the parish in three different ways.

In 1130/31, conflict erupted between the new Archbishop, Hugh of Amiens, and the Abbot of Saint-Ouen, when the latter claimed that his abbey benefited from the privilege of exemption. The settlement of this conflict is known from an archiepiscopal charter,[31] which implicitly denies the abbey any right to exemption, but defines the special rights of the abbot in the city of Rouen. It is the first written definition of these rights, which, according to the charter, the abbey had possessed in the time of Archbishop Geoffrey Brito (1111–29), predecessor of Hugh. The description of these rights lacks organization and mixes very different things qualified as *consuetudines*: some of them concern the relations between the abbot and the archbishop,[32] others appear to be linked directly to the control of the parish of Saint-Ouen, in which the abbey was situated. In this parish only, the abbot had all the justice of every man and woman's *offensio* and the obedience of the parish clerics (*obedientia*).[33]

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[29] Cartulary of Fécamp, Rouen, BM, MS Y 51, fol. 22ᵛ (*Gallia Christiana in provincias ecclesiasticas distributa*, XI, *instrumenta*, cols 23–24; and Waldman, 'Hugh "of Amiens", Archbishop of Rouen', II, no. 30): 'ecclesias quasdam cum parrochiis suis in nostro episcopatu perpetuo jure libertatis, absolutas ab omni jure episcopali, tibi tuisque successoribus et ecclesie Fiscannensi habendas in perpetuum concedimus et confirmamus. Ut igitur nulla super eis de jure libertatis oriatur contentio, eas huic carte nostre nominatim inseruimus, scilicet [...] ecclesiam Sancti Gervasii apud Rothomagum'.

[30] 'Polyptychum Rotomagensis dioecesis', pp. 228–331. In the 1337 *pouillé*, Saint-Gervais is part of the *exemptio Fiscannensis* (*Pouillés de la province de Rouen*, ed. by Longnon, p. 70).

[31] Cartulary of Saint-Ouen, Rouen, Arch. dép. de la Seine-Maritime, 14 H 18, p. 191 (Waldman, 'Hugh "of Amiens", Archbishop of Rouen', III, no. 133).

[32] Among these *consuetudines*, the charter remembers the abbot's right to bless and consecrate the archbishop and to preach for the people, and the monks' right to first place in the processions.

[33] Rouen, Arch. dép. de la Seine-Maritime, 14 H 18, p. 191: 'Hac vero concessione, ego

The interpretation of this text is difficult. The exact sense of *offensio*, which is a very important term, is not easy to determine precisely. Does this word refer to all judicial cases traditionally reserved to episcopal justice, whatever their gravity, or only to the minor offences? The parish clerics' *obedientia* is also difficult to define. In Normandy in *c.* 1131, episcopal rights over parish clerics were still quite limited and unclear. In particular, the rights of bishops over the investiture of clerics, which were virtually non-existent before the 1130s, were at an early stage of development. In almost all documents from the time of Archbishop Hugh, particularly episcopal charters, the *obedientia* of parish clerics is due only to the archbishop. Consequently, even if we cannot determine its implications precisely, the obedience due to the Abbot of Saint-Ouen by the clerics of the parish of Saint-Ouen constitutes a notable case.

The second useful charter was given in 1158 and has a different objective.[34] It is a confirmation of restitutions and privileges obtained by the abbey several years earlier, which seem to have had a special importance for the monks.[35] The situation concerning the parish of Saint-Ouen is described much more precisely than in *c.* 1131, even if the composition of the charter is not without its problems. The abbot and the monks alone could instruct and judge all offences of the parishioners, but crimes and dissolutions of marriages were expressly reserved for the judgement of the archbishop. Nevertheless, in these cases, the abbot played the role of intermediary in the process of purification (*salutiferum lavacrum*), in the name of the archbishop.[36] Whatever the nature

Hugo archiepiscopus concessi ecclesie Sancti Audoeni omnes consuetudines quas in pace tempore Gaufridi archiepiscopi tenuit, videlicet omnem justicia tocius offensionis virorum et mulierum in omnia parrochia Sancti Audoeni, clericorum vero ejusdem parrochie obedientiam abbati'. The following element in the list of the monks' rights might be linked with parish affairs, but it is not certain: 'et in processionibus semper monachi antecedent'. The processions either refer to the parish processions of Saint-Ouen, about which nothing is known for this period, or to the processions organized in the city for the main religious festivals. The absence of explicit reference to the parish of Saint-Ouen suggests the second hypothesis.

[34] Rouen, Arch. dép. de la Seine-Maritime, 14 H 160 (Waldman, 'Hugh "of Amiens", Archbishop of Rouen', III, no. 141).

[35] Especially the numerous possessions that Nicholas Fitz Godard, who had committed some abuses, had held from the abbey by right of *capellania*. The monks obtained the restitution of these possessions, with the Archbishop's permission, in 1145. On this *capellania*, see below and Rouen, Arch. dép. de la Seine-Maritime, 14 H 661 (two archiepiscopal charters; one of them is printed in Pommeraye, *Histoire de l'abbaye royale de S. Ouen de Rouen*, p. 425).

[36] Rouen, Arch. dép. de la Seine-Maritime, 14 H 160: 'Preterea in parrochia Sancti Audoeni Rothomagi et in parrochia Sancti Audoeni de Mesnilo Ogeri prope Divam, necnon

of the offence, the abbot and the monks were the only ones to profit from punishments of a financial nature. This situation, which implicitly distinguishes minor and major cases, is similar to the situation that prevailed in the majority of Norman parishes in which bishops shared their rights and their profits of justice with Benedictine monks from 1060 onwards.[37]

Hugh of Amiens's final charter of 1145 gives us information about the abbot's rights in the parish of Saint-Ouen. It relates that Archbishop Hugh had recovered the possessions that Nicholas Fitz Godard had held from the monks of Saint-Ouen by right of chapellany (*capellania*). Unlike its composition, the origin and evolution of this chapellany are not well understood. According to the archiepiscopal charter, the possessions included in Nicholas's original chapellany had been transmitted to his heirs, but they consisted essentially of churches and ecclesiastical revenues.[38] After recovering these possessions, Archbishop Hugh assigned them to the use of the abbey's infirmary. Among these possessions feature, in particular, rights over two churches or parishes of Rouen: one quarter of the church of Saint-André and the *decania* of the parish of Saint-Ouen.[39]

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in parrochia Sancti Martini in Oximensi, tam de clericis quam de laicis predictarum parrochiarum, causarum cognitiones ecclesiasticarum omnium et justiciam vobis concedimus, itaque statuentes quod si conjugii discidium sive reatus criminalis in illis aliqua emerserit calumpnia, ad metropolitanam Rothomagensem retineatur ecclesiam, ut ea consulta que dictis parrochiis, abbate Sancti Audoeni mediante, salutiferum distribuit lavacrum; reatus penam delinquentes sustineant diffinitivam. Et ex inde, si pecunia penalis exigenda fuerit, abbati solvatur vel monachis supradictis'. The lack of coherence and consistency in this extract suggests it has been copied from an earlier, now lost document. The abbot and the monks are referred to in the third person ('abbate Sancti Audoeni mediante; sustineant' without explicit subject; 'abbati solvatur vel monachis'), whereas, in the rest of the charter, the archbishop always refers to them in the second person. Moreover, in spite of the adjective *supradictis*, there is no specific reference to the monks before this sentence (only the *conventus* is mentioned in the address).

[37] Lemarignier, *Étude sur les privilèges d'exemption*, pp. 156–76.

[38] Nicholas Fitz Godard was perhaps a cleric who had received several possessions as an individual concession. Later, instead of returning to Saint-Ouen, these possessions were probably transferred to his kin, in defiance of the monks' rights. Archbishop Hugh's point of view regarding this matter is very clear: he was very shocked at this hereditary transmission, comparing it to a usurpation in very strong words: 'Eapropter, oblationes et decimas seu possessiones illas quas sub nomine capellanie Nicholas filius Godardi quondam tenuerat de manu abbatis Sancti Audoeni, nos ab indebita successione et ab hereditaria maledictione retraximus, et ea omnia que sub nomine capellanie rapacitas infesta distrahebat, concessione tua, karissime fili Fraterne, et assensu capituli tui in manu nostra recepimus' (Rouen, Arch. dép. de la Seine-Maritime, 14 H 661).

[39] Rouen, Arch. dép. de la Seine-Maritime, 14 H 661: 'Apud Rothomagum, quartam partem ecclesie Sancti Andree et decaniam parrochie Sancti Audoeni, et in eadem parrochia

This last right has never really attracted historians' attention despite being very unusual. The word *decania* is very rare in mid-twelfth-century sources in the ecclesiastical province of Rouen, but we do know of several uses of the term in the normative sources (for example, canons of provincial councils) from the end of the eleventh century and in charters. At this time, the word always designates the power of a rural dean over a local church or a parish, rather than a territory, but also makes reference to the dean's rights to and profits from the control of the churches, the clergy, and the parishioners. It includes judicial rights, for example, instructing or judging minor cases dependent on episcopal justice and rights controlling some gifts of parish churches by lay people to ecclesiastical institutions, and, sometimes, controlling the appointment of parish priests.[40] It is highly probable that *decania* has the same sense in Archbishop Hugh's charter of 1145 as in documents of the end of the eleventh and the beginning of the twelfth centuries.

It is possible that these three charters illustrate a single situation expressed in different ways concerning the abbot's judicial rights in the parish of Saint-Ouen. At the time of Archbishop Hugh's episcopate, traditional episcopal justice in the parish was shared between the archbishop and the abbot. The latter had the right to instruct and judge minor cases (to which the word *offensio* in *c.* 1131 probably refers), whereas the judgement of serious crimes was reserved to the archbishop. All the judicial profits were given to the abbey. This way, the abbot had the judicial power of a dean of Christianity, as noted in the charter of 1145. But what about non-judicial rights? As the abbot had the whole *decania* in 1145, it is probable that he played the role of a dean in the parish, not just in judicial cases. Three questions remain: when and why did this situation appear and what was left to the archbishop in the parish of Saint-Ouen?

According to Archbishop Hugh's charter of 1145, the *decania* of Saint-Ouen had been conceded to Nicholas Fitz Godard, as part of his chapellany. We do not know the precise date of this concession, but it is probable that it was made before Hugh's archiepiscopate, in the second half of the eleventh century or at the beginning of the twelfth century. It suggests that the monks of Saint-Ouen already possessed the traditional rights of a local dean in the par-

dominicam masuram Nicholai predicti et unam aliam masuram'. Waldman, 'Hugh "of Amiens", Archbishop of Rouen', iii, no. 136, gives an erroneous transcription of this extract.

[40] At the turn of the eleventh and twelfth centuries rural deans were not universal across the province of Rouen, though their office developed greatly after 1130/40. What we know about the role of these first rural deans is limited. As these observations derive from the whole province of Rouen, they are quite general. Combalbert, 'Gouverner l'Église', i, 56–66, 315–18.

ish at that time before giving them to Nicholas Fitz Godard. In *c.* 1131, Hugh confirmed the *consuetudines* held by the abbot at the time of his predecessor, Archbishop Geoffrey Brito. We suggest, therefore, that the abbot had received the *decania* and some judicial rights in the parish of Saint-Ouen at the beginning of the twelfth century,[41] but we have no information on the origin of this situation. Had the rights the abbot possessed at the beginning of the twelfth century been conceded to the monks, possibly by an archbishop (perhaps Geoffrey Brito, but no subsisting document can prove this assertion), or were they simply usurped? Whatever the answer may be, it seems certain that the recognition and the written confirmation of these rights, then considered as a compensation for the monks, were the consequence of the conflict regarding the exemption of the abbey in 1130/31.

A problem remains concerning the oversight of the parish clergy. The first charter, dated *c.* 1131, evokes the *obedientia* that the parish clerics owed to the abbot. Yet no other document refers to this *obedientia* or to a special link between the parish clerics of Saint-Ouen and the abbot. No evidence exists regarding the possible presentation of the clerics to the archbishop. It is therefore very difficult to evaluate the respective power of the archbishop and the abbot of Saint-Ouen in the control of the clergy of the parish of Saint-Ouen. What we are sure of is that the overall situation described in the charter of 1158 prevailed for several decades after this date without any conflict between the monks and the archbishops. Indeed, in 1205, Archbishop Walter of Coutances (1184–1207) gave a *vidimus* of Hugh's second charter, confirming the monks' rights as they had existed in 1158.[42]

The Rights of Other Norman Bishops in the Parishes of Rouen

The Benedictines were not the only group that had significant interests in the churches of Rouen and that periodically thwarted archiepiscopal rights and influence. Some churches were closely tied to other Norman bishops. These cases are very difficult to approach, as the sources are scarce, imprecise, and ambiguous. The best-documented case is that of the parish of Saint-Lô. The history of this church is linked to the Viking invasions and to the installation of

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[41] The monastic possession of the dean's rights in some parishes is attested by several other examples, all from around 1100. Lay lords themselves sometimes possessed these rights. Although this kind of situation is rarely attested in the documents, it was probably not exceptional.

[42] Rouen, Arch. dép. de la Seine-Maritime, 14 H 18, p. 194.

the Bishop of Coutances, who had fled his diocese, in the city of Rouen around 900.[43] Our oldest surviving sources give no information about the status of the church, nor about the juridical nature of the Bishop of Coutances's rights over Saint-Lô. A charter of Duke William, issued between 1056 and 1066, shows that some prebendary canons from Coutances served the church of Saint-Lô at this time. The Duke confirmed this church among the possessions belonging to the cathedral of Coutances, 'as it has been existing for a long time, with all the benefices depending on it, and the exemption of all *exactiones*'.[44] Among all the prebends and possessions confirmed to Coutances Cathedral, Saint-Lô in Rouen was the only one exempt from *exactiones*. It is possible that the Archbishop of Rouen was implicitly alluded to in this clause. According to this hypothesis, the charter of Duke William organized or confirmed the removal of the church of Saint-Lô from the archbishop's power.

In the twelfth century all the documents show that for the secular canons serving the church of Saint-Lô, and for the regular canons who gradually replaced them when it became an Augustinian priory in 1142, the bishop of reference was the Bishop of Coutances, not the Archbishop of Rouen. In 1143–44, a charter of Hugh of Amiens stated that the bishop (probably of Coutances) had the care of the souls of three canons possessing prebends in the church of Saint-Lô.[45] Pope Eugenius III, writing to the prior of Saint-Lô, explicitly reserved the justice and reverence due to the Bishop of Coutances.[46] In 1156, Pope Alexander IV used virtually the same expression.[47] These formulae, usually used in episcopal charters to manifest episcopal authority and

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[43] Le Maho, 'Une église rouennaise autour de l'an mil'. The date for the installation of the bishop and cathedral clergy of Coutances in the church of Saint-Lô is a matter of debate. Guillot, 'La Conversion des Normands à partir de 911', and Bauduin, 'Des invasions scandinaves', pp. 389, 395–97, argue for *c*. 913/14; van Torhoudt, 'Centralité et marginalité en Neustrie', I, 283–86, suggests that the installation occurred before 906 and probably in 890.

[44] *Le Cartulaire du chapitre cathédral de Coutances*, ed. by Fontanel, no. 340: 'et cetera que alio quolibet modo predicte ecclesie attributa sunt, inferius denotantur: scilicet apud Rothomagum ecclesia Sancti Laudi, sicut antiquitus extitit, cum beneficiis omnibus sibi adjacentibus et omnium exactionum quietudine'.

[45] De Glanville, *Histoire du prieuré de Saint-Lô de Rouen*, II, 288, no. II: 'nec respondere tenebuntur nisi soli episcopo in cujus manu et potestate erunt animo custodiendi'.

[46] De Glanville, *Histoire du prieuré de Saint-Lô de Rouen*, II, 291, no. V: 'salva Constantiensis episcopi justitia et reverentia'.

[47] De Glanville, *Histoire du prieuré de Saint-Lô de Rouen*, II, 293, no. VI: 'salva Constantiensis episcopi canonica justicia et reverentia'.

rights over a church, seem quite clear. The chronicle of Sainte-Barbe en Auge also supports this conclusion.[48] Nevertheless, in spite of this legal situation, ties between Saint-Lô and Rouen Cathedral were strong. In 1143–44, three of the secular canons of Saint-Lô were very probably also cathedral canons of Rouen and, when confirming the regularization of the community, Archbishop Hugh indicated in a quite obscure formula that the church of Saint-Lô was formerly in the possession of the cathedral church of Rouen.[49] But, beyond the canons' community, what was the situation of the parish of Saint-Lô at this time? We lack information about how the parish was served in the twelfth century: for example, we do not know whether the canons themselves served the parish or if they turned to a secular priest, and whether such a priest was presented to the Bishop of Coutances or to the Archbishop of Rouen. We also know nothing about the exercise of episcopal rights of justice over the parishioners of Saint-Lô. It is thus possible, but not absolutely certain, that the parish of Saint-Lô escaped archiepiscopal authority for most of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. It is also possible, though the documents no longer survive to confirm it prior to the end of the twelfth century, that the same hypothesis could also be valid for the parish of Saint-Cande le Vieux.[50]

Beyond Particular Cases:
Archiepiscopal Rights and Influence Regarding the Other Churches of Rouen

The parishes of Saint-Paul, Saint-Gervais, Saint-Ouen, and Saint-Lô are particular cases. They catch the eye because they are specific, complex, and sometimes well documented. They are, however, too few in number to offer a general picture of the extent of archiepiscopal power over the churches of Rouen in the central Middle Ages. The number of archiepiscopal charters increases from as early as 1130. Although still few in number, charters relating to the other par-

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[48] 'Chronique de Sainte-Barbe-en-Auge', ed. by Arnoux, p. 279: 'pro eo quod utraque ecclesia de jure Constantiensis Ecclesiae erat'. See also de Glanville, *Histoire du prieuré de Saint-Lô de Rouen*, ii, no. VI.

[49] De Glanville, *Histoire du prieuré de Saint-Lô de Rouen*, ii, no. II; Arnoux, 'Les Origines et le développement du mouvement canonial', p. 68. For the three cathedral canons, see Spear, *The Personnel of the Norman Cathedrals*, p. 211 (Archdeacon Geoffrey), p. 219 (Nicolas the treasurer), and pp. 240–41 (Canon Girard). For Archbishop Hugh's actions, see de Glanville, *Histoire du prieuré de Saint-Lô de Rouen*, ii, 289, no. II: 'Hec itaque aucta [*sic*] sunt coram ecclesia nostra ex cuius possessione et dono ipsa est antiquitus ecclesia Sancti Laudi Rothomagi'.

[50] For the situation of this parish at the end of the twelfth century, see below, pp. 202–05.

ishes of Rouen up to the beginning of the thirteenth century allow us to under-
stand how the majority of these parishes were brought under archiepiscopal
power and authority, even if monastic influence remained strong.

In the period 1130–1207, documents show that in most of the parishes of
Rouen the archbishops acted in a similar way as they did in other parts of their
diocese. The archiepiscopal right (*jus episcopalis* or *jus archiepiscopalis* in the
sources) was well established in most of the city. By the mid-twelfth century,
when episcopal rights over parish churches were reinforced by the reformers and
the property of lay lords was consequently redefined, a charter of Archbishop
Hugh of Amiens shows that these juridical innovations were implemented in
Rouen. This charter gives notice of the canonical investiture of a priest in the
church of Saint-Sauveur du Marché; the priest was probably in conflict with
the lay patron.[51] The vocabulary used to qualify the patron, 'dominus et advo-
catus terrenus', provides evidence of the diffusion of the new right of advowson,
not yet fully defined.[52] The situation shows that the archbishop controlled the
investiture of the parish priest, and, consequently, the ecclesiastical benefice, in
this church.

We do not know whether this control was universal over the churches
of Rouen during the episcopate of Hugh of Amiens, or if Saint-Sauveur du
Marché, which was one of the churches dependent on a lay patron, is an excep-
tion.[53] By the episcopate of Hugh's successor Rotrou of Warwick (1165–83),
archiepiscopal control over parish benefices in Rouen is well attested. Rotrou
authorized the appropriation of half the church of Saint-Jean in favour of the
regular canons of Saint-Lô, who were, until this point, only the patrons of the
church.[54] This appropriation was confirmed by Archbishop Walter, Rotrou's
successor, in 1205. Simultaneously, Walter also authorized, at the request of
Count Henry of Eu, the appropriation of the benefice of the church of Saint-
Nicolas for the cathedral chapter.[55] Like the investiture of a priest, the appro-

[51] Cartulary of Rouen Cathedral, Rouen, BM, MS Y 44, no. 100.

[52] Yver, 'Autour de l'absence d'avouerie en Normandie', pp. 251–66.

[53] In eastern Normandy, it seems that juridical innovations regarding episcopal control over
parish benefices, especially the institution of the *persona*, developed a little earlier in churches
dependent on lay patrons than in those dependent on ecclesiastical patrons. Combalbert,
'Gouverner l'Église', ii, 358–63.

[54] Cartulary of Saint-Lô of Rouen, Rouen, Arch. dép. de la Seine-Maritime, 26 HP 18, no. 35.

[55] Rouen, BM, MS Y 44, no. 215. This is the only example of an archiepiscopal intervention
in a gift of a church in this period, but we must remember that parish churches of the city had
often been donated to ecclesiastical institutions before canon law made episcopal intervention

priation of a church by the archbishop is a sign of archiepiscopal control over a parish benefice, which no party could have at their disposal without the bishop's agreement.

By the twelfth century, the archbishop had greater power over some churches in Rouen as he possessed the advowson: he could choose the priest before investing him, and possibly retain some parish revenues, especially a portion of the tithes. Only one document directly attests to this situation in the twelfth century. In 1169, Archbishop Rotrou made a deal with the abbot and monks of Saint-Ouen. The episcopal charter which gave notice of this transaction points out that, until then, the monks had held a quarter of the church of Saint-Vincent and the archbishop had had half of the church of Saint-André aux Fèvres, with the right to choose and present its priest (*jus presentationis*), the monks having the other half.[56] The deal consisted of an exchange of these rights. Rotrou, with the agreement of the cathedral chapter, gave the monks all his rights to Saint-André, as well as his protection for the abbey's rights in the church of Saint-Étienne des Tonneliers, and, in return, he received the quarter of the church of Saint-Vincent. It is highly likely that, before this exchange, the archbishop already possessed the three other quarters of Saint-Vincent, and Saint-Ouen already had the other half of Saint-André.[57] This agreement shows the archbishop extending his rights of advowson over at least two churches in Rouen before 1169, and in at least one church after this date.

Naturally, it is difficult to determine the exact number of churches in which the archbishop held advowson in the twelfth century. Information about the parish churches given to the cathedral between the tenth and the twelfth centuries is sparse, but still greater than in other Norman dioceses. The first prebends of Rouen Cathedral are not as well known,[58] nor do we know the respective patrimonies of the archbishop and the chapter once their possessions were distinguished.[59] It is not until the first third of the thirteenth century that we have

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indispensable for all gifts of churches or tithes at the turn of the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

[56] Rouen, Arch. dép. de la Seine-Maritime, 14 H 162.

[57] In the *pouillé* of 1236/44, one of the prebends of the cathedral included all the church of Saint-Vincent ('Polyptychum Rotomagensis dioecesis', p. 231). We do not know how or when this church was given by the archbishop to one of his canons as a prebend. Nothing in the charter of 1169 suggests that the Archbishop acted in the name of a prebendary canon. The only mention of the cathedral chapter concerns the agreement given by the canons to the exchange between the Archbishop and the Abbot of Saint-Ouen.

[58] See Bauduin, *La Première Normandie*, Annexe II, nos 9, 10, 11.

[59] The precise date of this distinction is unknown. In the other Norman dioceses, it took

information about all Rouen's parish churches thanks to the *pouillé* of the diocese (1236 × 44). Elements recorded in this document only give us information about the situation at the date of its redaction and cannot been used without caution for the twelfth century. In 1236–44, the archbishop had the advowson of four churches in the periphery of the city (Saint-Maclou, Saint-Godard, Saint-Vigor, and Saint-Pierre le Portier).[60] In comparison with the total number of churches in Rouen at this date, this number is low: the archbishop was the patron of only 11 per cent of the churches whose patron is explicitly known.[61] The number of rights of advowson belonging to the archbishop was about half that of the monks of Saint-Ouen.[62] We must also consider the cathedral canons' rights. According to the *pouillé*, the cathedral chapter was collectively the patron of three churches, with some prebendary or dignitary canons being individual patrons of seven others.[63] The cathedral clergy and the archbishop consequently possessed the right of advowson in fourteen churches: this equates to

place gradually between 1120 and 1160 (Combalbert, 'Gouverner l'Église', I, 292–99). The papal bulls addressed to Hugh of Amiens suggest that the archbishop possessed a patrimony distinct from that of the cathedral canons as early as the 1130s: Cartulary of Rouen Cathedral, Rouen, BM, MS Y 44, nos 25–27, 31.

[60] 'Polyptychum Rotomagensis dioecesis', pp. 229–32, 493–542.

[61] The *pouillé* of 1236–44 lists thirty churches in the urban area, and the patrons of all of them, except for the parish of Saint-Étienne la Grande Église where the cathedral was situated ('Polyptychum Rotomagensis dioecesis', p. 232). At the end of the Middle Ages, the religious centre of this parish was not a church, but simply an altar inside the cathedral. It is highly probable that this was the case at least as early as 1236–44. Saint-Étienne is the only parish in Rouen designated by the word *parrochia* and not *ecclesia*. This *parrochia* is situated 'in ecclesia Rothomagensi', meaning inside the cathedral. Five suburban churches are documented in the *pouillé*: Saint-Gervais, Saint-André hors la Ville, Saint-Hilaire, Saint-Paul, and Saint-Sever. Saint-Cande le Vieux was not included in the *pouillé* of Rouen as it probably fell under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Lisieux. At the end of the Middle Ages, this parish was part of the 'exemption of Saint-Cande', a territory including parishes inside and outside the city of Rouen (on the left bank of the Seine to the south of the city), dependent on the Bishop of Lisieux and lying outside archiepiscopal jurisdiction; this was probably already the case by the late twelfth century.

[62] Saint-Ouen held the advowson in Saint-Vivien, Saint-Nicaise, Saint-Ouen, Sainte-Croix des Pelletiers, Saint-Pierre l'Honoré, Saint-Étienne des Tonneliers, Saint-Pierre du Châtel, and Saint-André aux Fèvres.

[63] The cathedral chapter's advowson: Saint-Nicolas, Saint-Sauveur, and Saint-Martin sur Renelle. The prebendary or dignitary canons' advowson: Saint-Patrice, Sainte-Marie la Petite, Saint-Herbland, Saint-Denis, Saint-Vincent, Saint-Éloi, and Saint-Hilaire. The parish of Saint-Étienne la Grande Église is not included in these statistics.

39 per cent of the urban and suburban churches. These statistics show that the role of the archbishop and, more generally, that of the diocesan church, in the direct control of the parish clergy in Rouen was quite limited, with the rights of Benedictine monks and, in some cases, regular canons, more important and numerous.

Archiepiscopal power over parish churches in Rouen in the eleventh and twelfth centuries appears to have been both representative and specific. The archbishop fully exercised his *jus episcopalis* over the clergy and parishioners of most of the city, as he did in the rest of the diocese. He invested and controlled parish priests, but, apart from four, did not choose them. It is necessary, however, to underline the existence of several important exceptions, profiting the Benedictines inside and around the walls of the city. At least two or three parishes lay outside archiepiscopal power. In at least one of these, and perhaps in two others, the archbishop's power was limited. In this way, archiepiscopal power was undermined in the city which constituted its main centre.

The Archiepiscopal Offensive and Strategy of Containment in the Thirteenth Century

In the first half of the thirteenth century, several documents show evidence of conflicts between the archbishop and certain monasteries with interests in the city relating to Rouen's parish churches. It seems that as early as the closing years of the twelfth century Rouen's archbishops were no longer satisfied with the situation which prevailed in certain parishes to the detriment of their authority. For them, this period is characterized by a concerted effort to acquire, recover, or defend their rights over churches affected by old or new privileges.

The Parish of Saint-Cande le Vieux

In the 1190s, two documents reveal very surprising events in the church of Saint-Cande le Vieux. Before 28 May 1198, according to a bull of Pope Innocent III (1198–1215), a rural dean dependent on the archbishop and one of the archbishop's chaplains entered the church and committed acts of violence: they assaulted a priest named Luke, tried to soil liturgical clothes, and assaulted a pregnant woman, who consequently lost her child. The bull states that they tried to 'invade the parish' of Saint-Cande to secure 'for their own church' rights of burial. The pope had learned of these events from the Bishop of Lisieux's complaint and ordered the guilty clerics to be suspended from their

benefices and excommunicated if these facts were proven.[64] It is very probably in this context that another document was written, which seems to be a charter of King Richard I of England (1189–99), known by a partial quotation made by Michel Toussaint du Plessis.[65] This text asked the royal agents not to accept injury or a prejudice to Luke, canon of Saint-Cande, and to the other clerics of the ducal chapellany. Luke is probably the same person in both these texts.[66]

These documents show that in *c.* 1198 this church was served by a community of canons and clerics, and it belonged to the 'ducal chapellany', with the rural churches of Petit-Couronne, Sotteville, and Saint-Étienne. Saint-Cande was thus probably used by the duke-kings as their castle chapel (the ducal castle was situated very near the church), and the three other churches were probably dependent on Saint-Cande. The document states that Luke and the clerics of the ducal chapellany were 'with the Bishop of Lisieux', and were not to be injured or disturbed in their possessions by the Archbishop of Rouen, or by anyone else. The reference to the Bishop of Lisieux is imprecise in these and other sources. In 1202, a charter recording the arbitration of papal judges in a conflict concerning the parish benefice of Saint-Cande le Vieux indicated that the Bishop of Lisieux possessed the right of advowson, but did not explicitly evoke any *jus episcopalis* belonging to him in this parish.[67] Although the situ-

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[64] *Die Register Innocenz' III*, ed. by Hageneder and others, p. 298, no. 209: 'Querela venerabilis fratris nostri Lexoviensis episcopi nobis exposita demonstravit quod [...] minor decanus venerabilis fratris nostri [...] Rothomagensis archiepiscopi et Symon, cappellanus [*sic*] ejusdem, ecclesiam sancti Candidi minus reverenter intrantes, in Lucam presbyterum non tantum manus injecere violentas, verum etiam ad sacra vestimenta manus sacrilegas extendere presumpserunt, atque, tam ecclesiam ipsam quam clericos ejus aliis injuriis intolerabiliter molestantes, eandem parrochiam contra justitiam invasere, corpora mortuorum in eorum prejudicium ad suam ecclesiam deferentes. Quia igitur, preter hec enormia, dictus decanus quandam mulierem pregnantem pede taliter dicitur percussisse, quod ex eo fecit aborsum'. On the Bishop of Lisieux's relationship to the parish of Saint-Cande le Vieux, see note 61 above.

[65] Du Plessis, *Description géographique et historique de la Haute-Normandie*, II, 121 (also cited in Formeville, *Histoire de l'ancien évêché-comté de Lisieux*, II, pp. xxvi–xxvii, no. 2): 'Sciatis quod ecclesia S. Candidi Rotomagensis super ripam et ecclesiae de Corulmo Minore et de Sottevilla et de Sancto Stephano in manu et custodia nostra sunt, tanquam dominica capellania nostra Normaniae. Quare praecipimus vobis quatenus nullo modo patiamini aliquam molestiam seu gravamen inferri Lucae canonico Sancti Candidi nec aliis clericis capellaniae nostrae, qui cum episcopo sunt; nec de rebus aut possessionibus eorum per Rotomagensem archiepiscopum aut per alium'.

[66] Spear identified a 'Luke, canon of the college of Saint-Cande le Vieux' in 1182/91: see Spear, *The Personnel of the Norman Cathedrals*, p. 188.

[67] Sauvage, 'Fragments d'un cartulaire de Saint-Pierre de Lisieux', pp. 338–39, no. X

ation remains unclear, it seems reasonable to suppose that the canons, clerics, and parish of Saint-Cande fell under the Bishop of Lisieux's jurisdiction at the end of the twelfth century. The complaint addressed to the Pope by this Bishop concerned the violence against Luke as well as violence against the parishioners, the dead of the parish community, and the 'invasion' of the 'parish' by the dean and chaplain associated with the Archbishop of Rouen.

We do not know what the motivations of the dean and chaplain were, if we assume that these depredations happened as described in the bull. It is possible that this was simply a conflict between the priests of two neighbouring parishes, the one trying to despoil the other. But the presence of an archbishop's chaplain among the guilty men, the qualification of the dean by reference to the archbishop, and the explicit mention of the archbishop in the ducal charter, as persons who could undermine the clerics of Saint-Cande or their possessions, invite another hypothesis. These depredations were possibly a reaction to the fact that the parish lay outside the archbishop and dean's power. While it may be going too far to suggest that the Archbishop ordered or orchestrated the violence, it seems very probable that he was involved in events which constituted an attempt to take control of this parish. This is the first, but not the only, piece of evidence indicating a high archiepiscopal interest in the parish of Saint-Cande le Vieux in around 1200. Although he was not one of the papal judges in the conflict about the parish benefice of Saint-Cande in 1202, Archbishop Walter gave notice of and confirmed the papal arbitration settling this conflict. He may have acted as the metropolitan, even if there is no mention of his metropolitan authority in the text. In any case, he seemed very interested in what happened in this parish: perhaps he used the conflict as a pretext to intervene in a parish which theoretically lay outside his episcopal authority. These attempts were nevertheless in vain, as the church of Saint-Cande le Vieux did not feature in the *pouillé* of Rouen of 1236 × 44.[68]

(Müller, *Päpstliche Delegationsgerichtsbarkeit in der Normandie*, II, no. 124): 'de assensu et voluntate venerabilis fratris nostri Jordani Lexoviensis episcopi, ad quem jus patronatus illius ecclesie pertinere dinoscitur, salvo in omnibus jure suo'. Sauvage incorrectly attributes the charter to Archbishop Rotrou, rather than Walter of Coutances. The scribe Robert of Saint-Nicolas is attested among the cathedral clergy of Rouen from the 1190s to the 1220s: Spear, *The Personnel of the Norman Cathedrals*, p. 260. This conflict regarding the church of Saint-Cande le Vieux erupted between a cathedral canon of Lisieux and the cantor of Évreux, with each one claiming the parish benefice for himself. According to the arbitration imposed by papal judges, the canon of Lisieux became parson of the church, and the cantor of Évreux became his vicar.

[68] 'Polyptychum Rotomagensis dioecesis', p. 231. Unlike Saint-Cande le Vieux, the church

Archiepiscopal interest in this parish did not disappear after Walter of Coutances's failure. According to the registers of Pope Gregory IX (1227–41), Archbishop Peter de Collemezzo (1236–44) entered into a dispute with William de Pont-de-l'Arche, Bishop of Lisieux (1220–50), about the church and the parish in 1239. Peter wanted the Pope to establish that this church and the rural churches dependent on it were submitted to him, his diocesan power, and his jurisdiction.[69] He especially claimed the right to institute and dismiss the parish priest. According to Archbishop Peter, the Bishop of Lisieux possessed de facto all episcopal rights (*jura episcopalia*) in this parish illegally, because the parish was situated inside the diocese of Rouen and should be at the archbishop's disposal. Peter consequently asked the Pope to declare that William had no right to Saint-Cande le Vieux and its dependences.

It is undeniable that, in 1239, the Bishop of Lisieux concretely exerted all episcopal rights in the parish of Saint-Cande. Unjustified in the Archbishop's eyes, this situation, according to the Bishop's representative in this affair, resulted from a *prescriptio* — a long-lasting and uninterrupted exercise of episcopal rights by the Bishop of Lisieux — without any reference to a written document giving these rights to the bishop. This possible (but not certain) lack of written support of the bishop's rights might partly explain why the archbishops of Rouen tried to bring this situation to an end.

The Parish of Saint-Paul

A few years after the violent events in the church of Saint-Cande le Vieux, Archbishop Robert Poulain (1208–21) renewed attempts to reinforce archiepiscopal rights in the parishes of Rouen, this time in opposition to the nuns of

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of Saint-Cande le Jeune, also situated in Rouen, featured in the *pouillé*: this church was dependent on the advowson of the Bishop of Lisieux but did not fall under his jurisdiction (it fell under the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Rouen). For this reason, in the fourteenth century, the parish of Saint-Cande le Jeune did not belong to the 'exemption of Saint-Cande'.

[69] *Les Registres de Grégoire IX*, ed. by Auvray, ii, 610, no. 4709: 'Petiit Rothomagensis archiepiscopus ut, cum ecclesia Sancti Candidi Rothomagensis supra Secanam, parrochia ejusdem ecclesie [...] infra fines sue diocesis sint sita et in ejus dispositione et potestate de jure consistant, ac episcopus Lexoviensis in eisdem decimarum perceptionem et alia jura episcopalia de facto, quamvis de jure non possit, usurpet: quatinus eidem archiepiscopo et ejus successoribus in predictis omnem dispositionem et ordinationem, institutionem et destitutionem, et eas sibi, lege diocesana et jurisdictionis, subjectas judicetis, et per sententiam declaretis et pronuntietis ad dictum episcopum et ejus successores nullum jus in predictis de cetero pertinere'.

Montivilliers. To understand the nature of this conflict and its settlement, it is necessary to consider two different phases of the dispute.

In the first phase, Pope Innocent III issued three bulls in 1216 following a conflict between Archbishop Robert and Abbess Alix de Vatierville.[70] The cause of this conflict is not explicitly mentioned, but it seems very likely that it was part of a wider confrontation regarding the privilege received by the nuns in 1035, discussed earlier.[71] The bulls record in detail the respective rights of the archbishop and the abbess 'super ecclesiis et capitulis aliis infrascriptis'. The list of these churches is absent in the bulls, but it is probable that the documents concern all the churches affected by the privilege, listed in eleventh-century sources. The level of detail shows that the main function of this document was to record precisely and incontestably each party's rights over these churches. The ducal charter of 1035 that had granted to Montivilliers a general privilege of exemption from all episcopal customs seems by 1216 to have become insufficient to define and protect the real rights of the nuns regarding the twelve churches benefiting from this privilege. This is not surprising as, in the twelfth century, bishops had progressively built up and imposed their *jus* over parish clerics and churches.[72] Episcopal rights of justice were more precisely defined, following many difficult conflicts and the development of jurisprudence.[73] In that context, the abbey of Montivilliers, which, unlike Fécamp, had apparently never obtained an episcopal charter nor a papal bull confirming its ancient and extensive rights over certain churches before 1216, was threatened by the strengthening of episcopal power. In a literal reading, the papal bull of 1216

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[70] Rouen, Arch. dép. de la Seine-Maritime, 54 H 3 (one bull addressed to the Abbess of Montivilliers, and another to the Dean of Saint-Marcel and an Archdeacon of Paris, who oversaw the execution of the papal decision) and Rouen, Arch. dép. de la Seine-Maritime, 54 H 9 (bull addressed to the Archbishop of Rouen).

[71] The conflict about archiepiscopal rights in the parishes dependent on Montivilliers, especially Saint-Paul, took place at the same time as other disputes from 1213 onwards between the Abbess and the Archbishop regarding the rights that each party could exercise over the nuns (Le Cacheux, 'Le Fonds de l'officialité de Montivilliers', pp. 282–86), exactions extorted from the abbey by the Archbishop's men during the pastoral visit (in 1216, Rouen, Arch. dép. de la Seine-Maritime, 54 H 3), and the fact that the Archbishop wanted all the clerics serving the abbey church to attend the synod in Rouen, leaving the abbey without anyone to celebrate the divine office (in 1217, Rouen, Arch. dép. de la Seine-Maritime, 54 H 3).

[72] See Combalbert, 'Le Contrôle des clercs paroissiaux vu par les évêques normands'.

[73] For the different aspects of the growth of episcopal power over parish churches and clerics in the province of Rouen, see Combalbert, 'Gouverner l'Église', i, 267–77, 334–45, 368–72, 460–66.

does not seem to have created a new juridical situation: rather, it confirmed in writing an existing one. At this date, traditional episcopal rights over the churches dependent on Montivilliers were already shared between the archbishop and the abbess.

There are three elements in the analysis of this arrangement. First, according to the bulls of Innocent III, the archbishop held the larger part of what is usually called 'ordering power'. He gave the chrism, consecrated the churches and the altars, and ordained parish priests after examining them. In these matters, the Abbess of Montivilliers only played an intermediary role: she distributed the chrism to the churches dependent on the abbey and saw to the ordination of parish clerics. In contrast, the abbess possessed a large part of the episcopal judicial rights: with her own dean, she could organize 'pleas of Christianity',[74] citing the accused to appear. In these pleas, she judged and punished lay and clerical delinquents alongside the Archdeacon of Caux. Nevertheless, the parishioners of the churches concerned, once sent by their priests, had to go to the penitentiary (*penitentiarium*) of Rouen. In the same way, the Archbishop of Rouen judged appeals against the abbess's decisions in spiritual cases. For these judicial questions, the share of rights was not very different from that which prevailed in the parish of Saint-Ouen and in several parishes dependent on Benedictine institutions from the eleventh century onwards. Finally, and this is a very important element, the control of parish priests was almost totally the abbess's affair. Although the priests of the churches concerned had to attend the archiepiscopal synod in Rouen, the pastoral oversight of these churches was the responsibility of the abbess, who had her own rural dean at her disposal. The abbess was responsible for impelling clerics invested with a church into receiving ordination. Moreover, the new episcopal right over the canonical investiture of the parish priest, which emerged in the twelfth century, was still given wholly to the abbess: she conferred the churches alone, without any archiepiscopal intervention. According to this early thirteenth-century bull, the rights of the Abbess of Montivilliers over the churches concerned by the privilege were important, but probably a little less significant than they had been in the eleventh century.

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[74] The expression *placita christianitatis* probably refers to pleas judged in the episcopal court (*s.v.* 'Christianitas' in Du Cange and others, *Glossarium mediae et infimae latinitatis*, ed. by Favre; for another use of this expression in this sense, see Varin, *Archives administratives et legislatives de la ville de Reims*, ii, 52).

The second phase concerns the parish of Saint-Paul, where the situation was more complex, as another document attests.[75] By 1218, the conflict which had erupted a few years earlier was not fully settled, in spite of the papal intervention. According to a charter of Archbishop Robert, the problem no longer lay in the definition of the respective rights of the archbishop and the abbess, but in the application of the papal bull. The Archbishop and the Abbess did not agree about to which parishes the share of rights decided by the Pope should be applied. This disagreement was exacerbated by the absence of a precise list of the churches concerned in Innocent III's bull. The three parishes which constituted the problem in 1218 were Saint-Paul, Notre-Dame de Lillebonne,[76] and Sainte-Marie au Bosc in Gonfreville.[77] The situation regarding the final two churches is not well known: they do not appear as beneficiaries of the privilege in the ducal charter of 1035, nor in the interpolated version of 1068/76.[78] The nuns may have usurped or obtained enlarged rights in these churches from the end of the eleventh century, or alternatively they tried to extend their special rights in two new churches between 1216 and 1218 by taking the opportunity of the redefinition of their privilege. Whatever the answer may be, Saint-Paul is a specific case. In this second stage of the affair, it is the only church in which the nuns had benefited from exemption from episcopal customs from the eleventh century. In this case, Archbishop Robert was directly questioning the membership of Saint-Paul in the group of the churches in which the nuns possessed a significant portion of episcopal rights. It appears that his purpose was, in the context of conflict, to reinforce his own power over a suburban parish, control of which had largely been outside that of the archbishop for a long time. This idea is corroborated by the fact that Saint-Paul is the first church cited in the archiepiscopal charter of 1218.

The settlement of this second stage of the conflict is very revealing of the Archbishop's objectives and of the reinforcement of archiepiscopal authority over this suburban church. In the three parishes, including Saint-Paul, a new share of traditional episcopal rights was established. The abbess could invest and dismiss the churches' priests without presenting them to the archbishop, but for everything else, the priests and parishioners were 'wholly submitted to

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[75] Rouen, Arch. dép. de la Seine-Maritime, 54 H 9.

[76] Lillebonne, département Seine-Maritime, chef-lieu canton.

[77] Gonfreville-l'Orcher, département Seine-Maritime, chef-lieu canton.

[78] See above.

the archbishop, his successors, and his officials, as the ordinaries'.[79] The whole jurisdiction thus belonged to the archbishop. As early as the beginning of the thirteenth century, the word *jurisdictio* in episcopal charters designated the judicial rights of a bishop.[80] In 1218, even if the Archbishop did not have direct control over the ecclesiastical benefice of Saint-Paul and its titular, it is clear that the parish was fully submitted to his judicial power. In this suburban parish, the share of rights did not favour the Abbess of Montivilliers. This charter is all the more interesting because it contains one of the first uses of this word *jurisdictio* to refer, in a conceptualized way, to the judicial rights of the bishop in the diocese of Rouen, and one of the earliest uses of the word *ordinarius* to qualify the bishop as titular of this jurisdiction. The use of this vocabulary, which expresses and affirms the juridical progress in the manner of thinking about episcopal power, applied principally to a parish of Rouen, is a sign of the archiepiscopal will to build a new reinforced control over the churches of the city and its suburbs.

The Abbey of Saint-Ouen and its Parishes in the Thirteenth Century

Relations between the archbishops and the abbots of Saint-Ouen are well documented for this period. From 1131, when the conflict about the exemption that the monks claimed was settled, until the end of Walter of Coutances's archiepiscopate, these relations were peaceful. The situation changed in Robert Poulain's archiepiscopate. In 1208, a conflict erupted between Abbot Toustain of Saint-Ouen and the recently elected Robert regarding the place in which the latter should be consecrated.[81] Even though Archbishops Theobald of Amiens (1222–29) and Maurice (1231–35) were apparently not in conflict with the

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[79] Rouen, Arch. dép. de la Seine-Maritime, 54 H 9: 'in ecclesia Sancti Pauli juxta Rothomagum et in ecclesia Sancte Marie de Insula Bona et in ecclesia Sancte Marie de Bosco, abbatissa Monasterii Villari et ille que post ipsam ibidem future sunt abbatisse pro tempore ponent et amovebunt presbiteros, ita quod nobis vel successoribus nostris non presentabunt, sed tamen presbiteri predictarum ecclesiarum et parrochiani earumdem erunt in aliis subjecti nobis et successoribus et officialibus nostris tamquam ordinariis, ita quod in aliis que ad jurisdictionem pertinent, nichil sibi vendicabit abbatissa Monasterii Villari nec ille que post ipsam ibidem pro tempore future sunt abbatisse'.

[80] On the word *jurisdictio*, see Avril, 'Sur l'emploi de *jurisdictio* au Moyen Âge'; and for the use of this word in Normandy, Combalbert, 'Gouverner l'Église', I, 460–66.

[81] According to Hugh of Amiens's charter (see note 31 above), in 1131, the Archbishop was consecrated by the Abbot of Saint-Ouen in the abbey church.

monks, the situation became more difficult during Peter de Collemezzo's and Eudes Rigaud's episcopates. From the end of the 1230s until the 1260s, the sources relate a succession of long and difficult conflicts between the archbishops and the monks of Saint-Ouen.

The careers and origins of Peter de Collemezzo and Eudes Rigaud were very different, but both were scrupulous administrators of their diocese.[82] Peter began one of the first *pouillés* of the diocese; Eudes Rigaud completed the *pouillé* and, above all, he made extensive pastoral visits throughout his episcopate recording his observations in his famous register.[83] Moreover, Eudes seems to have taken particular care of religious life in the city of Rouen: for example, he reformed the service of the collegiate and parish church of Notre-Dame de la Ronde in 1255.[84] Both Peter and Eudes were very attentive with respect to their archiepiscopal rights and the administration of their possessions.

The second important element which must be considered is the apparent aim of the abbots of Saint-Ouen to enlarge their rights to the detriment of those of the archbishop. The most revealing piece of evidence in this respect is the request addressed by Abbot Nicholas to the Pope in 1256 about episcopal insignia and powers of ordination. This request is clearly mentioned in the bulls by which Pope Alexander IV permitted the abbot to wear and use these insignia (mitre, ring, tunic, gloves, sandals, and dalmatic), to confer the first tonsure and minor orders, and to consecrate altar cloths and other ecclesiastical ornaments.[85] These concessions signify competition between abbatial and archiepiscopal power. Naturally, Archbishop Eudes could not accept a situation which so gravely undermined his own power. In Alexander IV's bulls, we understand that the Archbishop claimed against these concessions. The surviving bulls register an attempt to synthesize the concessions made to the abbot and the preservation of the archbishops' rights.

The way in which Alexander IV tried to defuse the conflict he had helped to cause is very interesting. The new rights of the abbot were confirmed, but they were limited geographically to the abbey, the priories dependent on it, and 'other places in the city and the diocese of Rouen in which you have an eccle-

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[82] On Eudes Rigaud, see Andrieu-Guitrancourt, *L'Archevêque Eudes Rigaud et la vie de l'Église* and Davis, *The Holy Bureaucrat*.

[83] Eudes Rigaud, *Regestrum visitationum archiepiscopi Rothomagensis*, ed. by Bonnin; Eudes Rigaud, *The Register*, trans. by Brown.

[84] Rouen, Arch. dép. de la Seine-Maritime, G 1222.

[85] Five bulls: Rouen, Arch. dép. de la Seine-Maritime, G 1273.

siastical and quasi-episcopal jurisdiction'.[86] The problem is how to define precisely those places in which the abbot had a quasi-episcopal jurisdiction. The formulation of the papal bulls, citing explicitly the city of Rouen (before citing the diocese) is an initial indication.[87] Moreover, the parish of Saint-Ouen is the only place in the diocese regarding which specific conflicts between the Archbishop and the Abbot of Saint-Ouen arose in this period. These conflicts must be studied in detail.

In 1237, Hugh of Pisa, Archdeacon of Rouen, quarrelled with the monks of Saint-Ouen. This quarrel, about which little is known, is attested by a charter of the dean and chapter of Rouen.[88] It was agreed that Archbishop Peter should arbitrate between the litigants about certain elements of the quarrel, which are not detailed in the text. In spite of this agreement, the conflict continued for almost ten years: in 1246, further arbitration by Geoffrey, Bishop of Sées, and William of Saâne, Archdeacon of the French Vexin, was necessary.[89]

The charter giving notice of this arbitration in 1246 is much more detailed than the charter of 1237 and allows us to understand the multiple origins of the problem.[90] The parish of Saint-Ouen, Rouen, is one of the two main subjects.[91] In 1246, the Abbot exerted 'the jurisdiction', namely the archidiaconal jurisdiction, in this parish: the arbitrators recorded that he could exert the jurisdiction, himself or through a representative, as had been the case until then ('sicut hactenus consuevit'). On this point, the settlement decided by the arbitrators is quite surprising. According to the charter, the abbot could exercise jurisdiction on condition that the archdeacon's office and jurisdiction were not injured. The archdeacon would be informed about any attack on the archidi-

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[86] Rouen, Arch. dép. de la Seine-Maritime, G 1273: 'Nos vestre providere volentes quieti, ac turbationis et offensionis in hac parte materiam tollere cupientes, declaramus tue et successores tuos in monasterio tuo et prioratibus tibi subjectis, necnon et locis aliis civitatis et diocesis Rothomagensium in quibus ecclesiasticam et quasi episcopalem jurisdictionem obtines predicta debere dumtaxat concessione gaudere'. This clause is the same in three other bulls of Alexander IV. It also features twice in the agreement made about these matters, after the reception of these bulls by Abbot Nicholas and Archbishop Eudes in 1257 (Rouen, Arch. dép. de la Seine-Maritime, G 1274).

[87] The reference to 'the city and the diocese of Rouen' is very rare in sources at this time.

[88] Cartulary of Saint-Ouen, Rouen, Arch. dép. de la Seine-Maritime, 14 H 18, no. 220.

[89] Rouen, Arch. dép. de la Seine-Maritime, 14 H 18, no. 274.

[90] Rouen, Arch. dép. de la Seine-Maritime, 14 H 18, no. 274.

[91] The parish of Saint-Ouen, Rouen, was in the archdeanery of Rouen, of which Hugh of Pisa was the titular. Tabbagh, *Diocèse de Rouen*, pp. 55, 222.

aconal office and would be able to exercise this office freely, without intervening in judicial affairs treated by the abbot.[92] All in all, the abbot had the jurisdiction, but the archdeacon preserved his office — but what does this mean exactly? As in almost all Norman documents of the first half of the thirteenth century, the word *jurisdictio* must be understood in the precise sense of rights of justice. In this way, the solution was not a share of the archidiaconal jurisdiction but, more broadly, of archidiaconal rights. The traditional rights of justice of the archdeacon regarding the parish wholly belonged to the abbot, but the Archdeacon of Rouen retained the right to visit the parish (and the abbey church) and to defend archidiaconal prerogatives.[93] As a consequence, the parish of Saint-Ouen did not escape diocesan control completely, but this control was far weaker than in other parishes dependent on the monks within the city.

This analysis is helpful in understanding the conflict between the Abbot and Archbishop Peter in 1238. At this date, according to a charter copied in Saint-Ouen's cartulary named 'Rothomagum et foresta', Archbishop Peter came into conflict with the monks about the 'jurisdiction of the parish of Saint-Ouen'.[94] The exact reason for this conflict is not detailed in the text, but given the sense of the word *jurisdictio* in the charters relating to the quarrel between Archdeacon Hugh of Pisa and the monks, we can suppose that the monks intended, and maybe managed, to exercise judicial rights traditionally belonging to the archbishop. This situation explains why, in 1256, Alexander IV's bulls evoke places in which the abbot had quasi-episcopal jurisdiction in the city of Rouen: they refer to the parish of Saint-Ouen.

These documents show that the situation which prevailed in the parish of Saint-Ouen at least from the end of the 1230s was quite different from that which had prevailed during Hugh of Amiens's episcopate. At that time, the

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[92] Rouen, Arch. dép. de la Seine-Maritime, 14 H 18, no. 274: 'in presbiteris autem et parrochianis et parrochia Sancti Audoeni, abbas Sancti Audoeni, per se vel per alium, jurisdictionem exercere poterit sicut hactenus consuevit, ita tamen quod per hoc archidiaconi officium seu jurisdictionem non ledetur, qui despectationibus ad archidiaconale officium cognoscere poterit et libere suum officium exercere, ita tamen quod legiter inchoata coram abbate vel ejus vices gerente nec impedire poterit nec aliquatenus revocare'.

[93] This division of archidiaconal rights and competences is demonstrated by the equal share between the abbot and archdeacon of the third of the *deportatio*: that is, the part of the *deportatio* traditionally reserved to the archdeacon (Rouen, Arch. dép. de la Seine-Maritime, 14 H 18, no. 274: 'tercia vero pars deportationis dicte ecclesie inter partes equaliter dividetur'). For *deportatio*, see Combalbert, 'Gouverner l'Église', i, 369–72.

[94] Rouen, Arch. dép. de la Seine-Maritime, 14 H 18, no. 196.

monks had only had the *decania* of the parish, that is, the dean's authority. In the period 1230–50, they acquired a large part of the archdeacon's authority, and even of that of the archbishop. This marks an important development in the extension of the monks' rights in the parish of Saint-Ouen between 1161 and 1235. Given that Archbishop Walter confirmed Hugh of Amiens's earlier dispositions in 1205, we suggest that this development probably took place later, but still in the first half of the thirteenth century. Did this change happen initially in response to the tensions between Archbishop Robert Poulain and the abbey of Montivilliers? Do the documents from 1237 reveal the beginning of an initiative by the monks, or the beginning of a reaction by the archbishop and archdeacon to previous developments? Whatever the answer may be, these documents show without ambiguity that, when confronted by what may be considered to be a usurpation of its authority, the diocesan hierarchy became more determined to establish its rights in the parish of Saint-Ouen.

In terms of archiepiscopal jurisdiction in this parish, the situation was still unclear at the beginning of the 1250s. We do not know how the conflict between Archbishop Peter and the Abbot, attested in 1238, ended. Whatever the settlement may have been, conflict around the same question arose in 1266 between the Abbot and Archbishop Eudes Rigaud.[95] Unlike in 1246 or 1256, the jurisdiction (episcopal rights of justice over the priests, clerics, and parishioners of the parish of Saint-Ouen) was the only subject of the quarrel. The charter given by the two arbitrators, Peter Hurtet, minister of the friars minor in France, and Thomas de Bruyères, monk of Saint-Ouen, notes that the Abbot stated that jurisdiction had to belong to him, whereas the Archbishop argued to the contrary.[96] It is quite clear that the Abbot claimed the right to exercise justice in cases traditionally reserved to episcopal justice. The arbitrators imposed a compromise, founded on a share of episcopal jurisdiction. Any parishioners wanting to institute proceedings against someone, or being accused of an offence coming under ecclesiastical justice, could freely choose the court that would try their case. Consequently, they could appeal either to the abbot or his representative, or to the archbishop or his official, on the condition that an affair should be examined from the beginning to the end by the same court. The abbot could excommunicate culprits, and in this case, the archbishop could not

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[95] Several documents survive concerning this affair: Rouen, Arch. dép. de la Seine-Maritime, 14 H 158, and Rouen, Arch. dép. de la Seine-Maritime, 14 H 18, nos 117, 266, 267, 269, 271.

[96] Rouen, Arch. dép. de la Seine-Maritime, 14 H 158, and Rouen, Arch. dép. de la Seine-Maritime, 14 H 18, no. 266.

cancel the excommunication, but rather had to help the abbot apply the punishment. In this way, the abbot exercised a large part of episcopal jurisdiction, as suggested by the bulls of 1256.

In 1266, this jurisdiction was not shared equally: in many respects, the archbishop remained the abbot's superior. Instruction and judgement in several cases were strictly reserved to the archbishop's court, such as cases of divorce and heresy,[97] cases relating to people's status,[98] and, more generally, all the affairs in which the defendant risked a penalty of more than 60 *sous*. The archbishop retained sole authority over the parish priest: he alone could pronounce the degradation or the deposition of the parish priest or deprive him of his benefice. Hence, archiepiscopal control over the parish benefice and service was completely preserved. The abbot was not, therefore, in full possession of episcopal jurisdiction in the parish of Saint-Ouen. Nevertheless, it is true that, in 1266, the abbot's rights were far more significant than they had been one century earlier.

Finally, it is necessary to note that the conflict between Archbishop Eudes Rigaud and the Abbot of Saint-Ouen in the middle of the thirteenth century was not limited to questions of jurisdiction and the ordering of power in the parish of Saint-Ouen. In the mid-thirteenth century, the Abbot asked the Pope for a change in the status of the parishes of Saint-Ouen and Saint-Vivien.[99] The church of Saint-Vivien was situated just behind the abbey[100] and was an important parish in eastern Rouen. The monks of Saint-Ouen held the advowson of Saint-Vivien from at least the mid-twelfth century, as confirmed by a bull of Pope Alexander III.[101] In 1255, Alexander IV accepted that the parish altar of Saint-Ouen, situated in the abbey church,[102] would no longer be served by a

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[97] Before 1266 the abbot seems to have accepted that these cases were reserved to the archiepiscopal court.

[98] The text does not give any further detail as to what is meant here by 'status'.

[99] Rouen, Arch. dép. de la Seine-Maritime, 14 H 18, Rouen, Arch. dép. de la Seine-Maritime, 14 H 266, and Rouen, Arch. dép. de la Seine-Maritime, G 1273 (two bulls, one for Saint-Ouen, the other for Saint-Vivien, which recapitulate the events from the Abbot's request to the settlement of the conflict with Eudes Rigaud).

[100] See Map 2 in Gauthiez, above.

[101] Pommeraye, *Histoire de l'abbaye royale de S. Ouen de Rouen*, p. 408. This is the first reference to Saint-Vivien in the documents.

[102] At this time, Saint-Ouen was a particular case, as there was no parish church within the parish. The parish priest officiated at a specific altar, reserved for the use of the parish, situated inside the abbey church (this is comparable to the parish of Saint-Étienne la Grande Église

secular priest but rather by a monk of the abbey: naturally, the monks would now receive all the parish revenues. In 1256 the Pope accepted the appropriation of the church of Saint-Vivien to the abbey's possessions. After the incumbent's death, the monks would come into corporal possession of this benefice, placing in the church, for the parish service, a simple vicar who would receive a portion of the parish revenues, with the main part reserved to the monks. For them, it seems that these requests were justified by economic reasons: some time earlier, the abbey was destroyed in a major fire, and the revenues of Saint-Ouen and Saint-Vivien could be used to restore it.[103]

We do not know if the monks were seeking something else in these machinations, but it is clear that the new status of these two churches represented a major upheaval in their service, as much as in the relations of influence in the parishes. Archbishop Eudes vigorously complained to the Pope about the situation created by the bulls shortly after the decision. He put forward two arguments that were mainly pastoral in character.[104] In the case of the parish of Saint-Ouen, Eudes explained that the monks were theoretically submitted to the enclosure inside their monastery, which was indeed compatible with the service of an altar situated inside the abbey church, but not with the mission of a parish priest to his parishioners. According to the Archbishop, a monk, because of his status, was not able to visit sick parishioners and to administer the sacraments in the parish, especially as this parish was large. Eudes also focused on the danger that the papal decisions created for the souls of the parishioners of Saint-Vivien. He explained that the parish was so extended and heavily populated that one priest was insufficient and implicitly suggested that the parish was badly served if all its revenues accrued to the abbey.

These pastoral arguments, which were probably quite justified, were not the Archbishop's only preoccupation. The bulls written in 1257 to answer Eudes Rigaud show, more or less explicitly, that the Archbishop had complained of the prejudice to him and his diocesan church caused by the papal decisions.[105] In the case of Saint-Vivien, even if the papal decision reiterated that the vicar

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inside Rouen cathedral — see note 61 above).

[103] The papal bull authorizing the appropriation of Saint-Vivien mentions this fire and justifies the appropriation by the necessity to finance the reconstruction: Rouen, Arch. dép. de la Seine-Maritime, 14 H 266.

[104] These complaints are known through the two papal bulls of 1257: Rouen, Arch. dép. de la Seine-Maritime, G 1273.

[105] This is clearly seen in the bull for Saint-Vivien: Rouen, Arch. dép. de la Seine-Maritime, G 1273: 'et per concessionem hujusmodi tibi prejudicium generetur'.

had to pay episcopal rights, the appropriation of the church without giving the vicar a fixed part of the parish revenues challenged the archiepiscopal and archidiaconal right of *deportatio* (the right of the archbishop and the archdeacon to collect for their own profit the part of the parish revenues reserved to the parson or to the vicar when these benefices were vacant).[106] As the monks received all the parish revenues, none would ever be vacant. In order to preserve pastoral care and archiepiscopal interest, the Pope modified what had initially been decided: the appropriation of revenues was confirmed, but two-thirds were reserved to the vicar. In the parish of Saint-Ouen, however, if the priest was a monk, archiepiscopal rights would further be diminished. While the secular cleric had formerly been presented to the archbishop by the abbot, in order to be invested, the serving monk would not be presented. This problem, which must have been underlined by Eudes Rigaud in his complaint, appears implicitly in the bull relating to the parish of Saint-Ouen. The second problem is not explained, but it is linked to the preceding one: as a result of the papal decision, the archbishop could no longer collect his right of *deportatio* in Saint-Ouen just as in Saint-Vivien, because the monastic community ensured continuity of service and the archbishop no longer controlled the ecclesiastical benefice due to the absence of presentation. Eudes Rigaud was trying to defend his influence, his control, and his economic rights in urban parishes in which they were clearly threatened.

If the complaints of 1257 regarding jurisdiction did not lead to a full resolution, the appeals of 1256 regarding the status of the churches and servants of Saint-Ouen and Saint-Vivien were more successful from an archiepiscopal point of view. Following Eudes's complaints, Alexander IV cancelled the change of status for the servant of the parish altar of Saint-Ouen.[107] The bull clearly mentions the necessity of presenting the secular cleric to the archbishop. In this case, the Archbishop's victory was total. In Saint-Vivien, the Pope did not completely rescind his initial decision: legally, the appropriation of the parish church was maintained, but as we have already said, a fixed proportion of the parish revenues was attributed to the vicar, so that he could exercise his office and so that the archbishop and the archdeacon could collect their right of *deportatio*. Eudes Rigaud may have counted himself satisfied.[108]

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[106] Combalbert, 'Gouverner l'Église', i, 369–72.

[107] Two papal bulls contain details regarding the settlement of the conflict: Rouen, Arch. dép. de la Seine-Maritime, G 1273.

[108] This affair is also one of the subjects of the agreement made between Archbishop Eudes

Our analysis of documents relating to the parishes of Saint-Ouen and Saint-Vivien in the thirteenth century shows two things. First, it is undeniable that, in the first two thirds of this century, the Abbot of Saint-Ouen tried to extend his rights and control in the two parishes situated near the abbey. In the mid-thirteenth century, the Abbot exercised total archidiaconal jurisdiction and had appropriated a significant part of the episcopal jurisdiction. This period is, consequently and quite surprisingly, marked by a decline in the rights of the archbishop and the diocesan church in these two urban parishes, in comparison with the situation prevailing in the twelfth century. Nevertheless, the increase in conflicts initiated by the archbishops and their auxiliaries evidences their great vigilance in this matter. The archbishops of Rouen, at the time of Peter de Collemezzo and Eudes Rigaud, tried to maintain their rights and to limit the progression of those of the abbot by resorting to arbitration and complaining to the pope. These interventions are somewhat akin to a strategy of containment, guided by circumstances. Under the episcopate of Eudes Rigaud, this strategy was relatively successful in maintaining archiepiscopal rights over the clerics and benefices of Saint-Ouen and Saint-Vivien and in limiting the abbot's rights in the episcopal jurisdiction of the parish of Saint-Ouen.

Conclusion

We can identify three distinct periods in the relations between the archbishops of Rouen and local monastic houses from the eleventh to thirteenth centuries, explained as much by the type of documentation as by the changing nature of archiepiscopal power. The eleventh century saw the implantation of important Benedictine houses in some churches in Rouen. Sources reveal the great interest of the monks and nuns in these churches, in which they acquired extensive rights, by gifts or usurpation, to the detriment of the archbishop. After 1130, no more new concessions of this type are attested, but the archbishops do not seem to have contested the rights acquired by the monasteries until the last

and Abbot Nicholas in 1257 (Rouen, Arch. dép. de la Seine-Maritime, 14 H 18). Both the parishes of Saint-Ouen and Saint-Vivien were to be served by a secular cleric presented to the Archbishop. The share of the parish revenues was modified so that the monks would not have a fixed proportion of these revenues, but they would collect an all-inclusive sum of 100 pounds each year (70 pounds from Saint-Vivien and 30 pounds from Saint-Ouen). This sum replaced all the ancient rights (*pensiones* and *oblationes*) that the monks had in these two parishes. Both the monks' economic interests and archiepiscopal power and influence were preserved in the resolution of this conflict.

decade of the twelfth century. Some of these rights were even confirmed by the prelates. At this time, documents show that the majority of the urban and suburban parishes were submitted to the *jus episcopalis* of the archbishop, even if monastic presence and influence continued to be important. This status quo gradually came to an end towards the end of the twelfth and the beginning of the thirteenth century. At this time, Walter of Coutances tried to take control of the parish of Saint-Cande le Vieux, and Robert Poulain succeeded in imposing his, until then non-existent, jurisdiction in the parish of Saint-Paul, to the detriment of the abbey of Montivilliers. A few years later, the monks of Saint-Ouen endeavoured to extend their rights in two urban parishes, facing scrupulous archbishops concerned about the defence of their influence and jurisdiction. Against the new demands of Saint-Ouen, Peter de Collemezzo, Eudes Rigaud, and their auxiliaries fought to contain the monks' power and influence in the parishes situated near the abbey. The role played by Peter must be underlined, as he also tried to acquire episcopal rights in Saint-Cande le Vieux, against the Bishop of Lisieux.

In the city of Rouen, which constituted the centre of archiepiscopal power in the diocese, the traditional exercise of this power over parish churches coexisted with the remarkable and ancient rights of monks or other bishops, to its detriment in certain parishes. This coexistence was only partially questioned during the thirteenth century. Among the conflicts that occurred, the fight between the two main ecclesiastical actors of the city — the archbishops and the monks of Saint-Ouen — was the longest and the hardest fought. Archiepiscopal action in Rouen was not isolated. Outside Rouen, in 1239, Archbishop Peter de Collemezzo and his archdeacon, Hugh of Pisa, managed to reduce the rights of the Abbot of Saint-Wandrille in four parishes around the abbey.[109] In the same period, in 1236/37, the Bishop of Avranches tried to extend his rights in the parish of Mont-Saint-Michel, against an old privilege of the eleventh century.[110] This period was globally a phase of reinforcement of episcopal power in Normandy, but it is worth noting that this reinforcement is nowhere more perceptible than in Rouen.[111]

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[109] Rouen, Arch. dép. de la Seine-Maritime, 16 H 29; Combalbert, 'Gouverner l'Église', I, 473–75.

[110] Combalbert, 'Gouverner l'Église', I, 468–70; Cartulaire du Mont-Saint-Michel, Avranches, BM, MS 210, fol. 135; Coutant, 'Le Cartulaire du Mont-Saint-Michel', II, no. 101.

[111] A precise comparison with other Norman cities is difficult because of a lack of source material.

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Part III

Social Networks

Women, Property, and Power: Some Examples from Eleventh-Century Rouen Cartularies

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It seems marriage was a dangerous business in eleventh-century Rouen. The twelfth-century chronicler William of Malmesbury tells of the deposition of Archbishop Mauger of Rouen (*c.* 1037–*c.* 1054) following his comments on the marriage of Duke William of Normandy to Matilda, daughter of Baldwin V of Flanders:

> Matilda, whom William had taken as a wife, was a near relation, and in his zeal for the Christian faith Mauger had found it intolerable that two blood-relations should share the marriage-bed, and had aimed the weapon of excommunication against his nephew and that nephew's consort. The young man was furious, his wife added her protests, and so (it was said) they had been looking for opportunities to drive from his see the man who had denounced their sin.[1]

[1] 'Mathildem, quam Willelmus acceperat, proximam sibi sanguine fuisse; id Christianae fidei zel Malgerium non tulisse, ut consanguineo cubili fruerentur, sed in enpotem et comparem excommunicationis iaculum intentasse; ita cum irae adolescentis uxoriae querelae accederent, excogitatas occasiones quibus persecutor peccati sede pelleretur': William of Malmesbury, *Gesta regum Anglorum*, ed. and trans. by Mynors, Thomson, and Winterbottom, i. 3, 267. Malmesbury was not the only twelfth-century author to comment on this marriage and its alleged problems. See for instance Orderic Vitalis's account in the *The Gesta Normannorum ducum*, ed. and trans. by van Houts, ii, 146–49.

According to Malmesbury, Mauger's denunciation of this marriage effectively ended his career as Archbishop of one of the most important Norman sees and even the fact that he was William's uncle did not count in his favour. Mauger's concern that William's marriage was consanguineous fits with the reforming aims and principles of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, which saw the Christianization of the secular institution of marriage.[2] One of the ways by which the Church tried to do this was to specify who could and who could not marry each other.[3] However, this marriage also had wider implications for the politics of the age, especially in terms of power and its practice. At the time of his marriage William was fighting for survival as a young lord whose position was weakened further by his illegitimacy.[4] Despite papal prohibition of the marriage, William took Matilda as his wife and as a result faced ecclesiastical opposition not just from the papacy but also, as we have seen, within the ecclesiastical see of Rouen itself. Given William's precarious situation it was unsurprising that steps were taken to effect a reconciliation with the papacy in the years following his marriage. In 1059 the papacy saw fit to lift the ban, on the condition that William and Matilda each built and endowed a monastic house at Caen.[5] The foundation of these impressive monastic houses is representative of the practice of good lordship on a number of levels, especially by indicating a close relationship between ecclesiastical and secular power, which was to prove vital to William's success as Duke of Normandy and later King of England.[6] What is especially interesting is that a woman, Matilda, was involved in this expression of good lordship through the foundation of her own monastic establishment. It suggests that the expression and definition of specifically female actions in relation to power and property deserve further consideration.

Historians have long acknowledged that access to and control of property are crucial factors in determining the structure and extent of female power.[7]

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[2] There is an enormous literature on this subject. See for instance, Brooke, *The Medieval Idea of Marriage*; Brundage, *Sex, Law, and Marriage in the Middle Ages*; Duby, *The Knight, the Lady, and the Priest*, trans. by Ray; Duby, *Love and Marriage in the Middle Ages*, trans. by Dunnett.

[3] Bouchard, 'Consanguinity and Noble Marriages'.

[4] Douglas, *William the Conqueror*, pp. 79–80.

[5] *Regesta regum Anglo-Normannorum*, ed. by Bates, no. 59; *Les actes de Guillaume la Conquérant et de la reine Mathilde*, ed. by Musset, nos 2, 8.

[6] Bates, *Normandy before 1066*; Douglas, *William the Conqueror*.

[7] LoPrete and Evergates, 'Introduction'; Gold, *The Lady and the Virgin*, pp. 116–44; Livingstone, 'Noblewomen's Control of Property'; Reynolds and Witte, *To Have and To*

This power was thought to have undergone significant modification in the eleventh century as a result of changes in social, economic, legal, familial, and political practices, all of which restricted female power and its expression.[8] Such a thesis fitted into wider historiographical debates concerned with the structure and construction of the medieval family. Scholars like Georges Duby and Jack Goody have argued for a transformation of the family structure from one which was loosely organized to one which was a narrowly defined patrilineage practising primogeniture.[9] One consequence of this was that women lost access to property and power within not only their families but also society in general. More recent work has challenged this interpretation and argued that female power was far from restricted in this period, with women playing important and influential socio-political roles. Indeed scholars like Susan Johns, Amy Livingstone, and Kimberly LoPrete have argued that failure to acknowledge female power within the framework of the family and society undermines our understanding of medieval political structures and practices as a whole.[10]

Exploration of these issues of women's power and property is crucially important in understanding the history of Rouen and its society. In particular, I will discuss female relationships to power and property in Rouen during the eleventh century. Rouen is, of course, significant as being the historical capital city of Normandy with important links to the ducal dynasty maintained and created throughout this period.[11] Furthermore, issues and questions involving marriage as well as female power and property were matters of some importance within the city. Various church councils and synods were held in Rouen from around 1072 onwards which sought to set out ecclesiastical views on issues such as adultery, clerical marriage, sexual relations outwith marriage, the role of widows, consanguinity, and indissolubility, all of which were in line with the

Hold, especially Reynolds, 'Dotal Charters in the Frankish Tradition'; Morelle, 'Marriage and Diplomatics'; and Johnson, 'Marriage Agreements from Twelfth-Century Southern France'.

[8] The classic statement of this is McNamara and Wemple, 'The Power of Women through the Family'.

[9] Duby, *La Société aux XIᵉ et XIIᵉ siècles*; Duby, *The Chivalrous Society*, trans. by Postan; Goody, *The Development of the Family and Marriage in Europe*, pp. 103–56; Goody, *The European Family*, pp. 57–67.

[10] Johns, *Noblewomen, Aristocracy, and Power*; LoPrete, 'Women, Gender and Lordship in France'; LoPrete, *Adela of Blois*; LoPrete, 'Adela of Blois'; Livingstone, 'Aristocratic Women in the Chartrain'; and Livingstone, 'Noblewomen's Control of Property'.

[11] For the early history of the duchy, see Bates, *Normandy before 1066*; Crouch, *The Normans*; Searle, *Predatory Kingship and the Creation of Norman Power*.

reforming aims and principles of the period.[12] That these matters were hotly debated is illustrated in the story told by Orderic Vitalis about Archbishop John of Rouen (1067–79) who was stoned out of a synod for attempting to separate priests from their mistresses.[13]

In other instances the Norman dukes can be found at Rouen dispensing justice in cases involving marriage and property. Orderic Vitalis tells us of one Heugon who offered his only daughter in marriage to the powerful Giroie with Montreuil, Echauffour, and all the land dependent on them as her dower.[14] Heugon died shortly after this agreement was made, and although Giroie entered into possession of his fiefs the girl died before they could be married. In order to legalize his position Giroie went before Duke Richard at Rouen where the Duke 'recognizing his valour, received him favourably and granted him all the land of Heugon by hereditary right' ('eique totam terram Helgonis haereditario iure concessit').[15] As well as legitimizing his position as heir to all of Heugon's lands, this decision also granted Giroie the freedom to remarry, which he subsequently did. These examples demonstrate that focusing on issues of marriage, female property rights, and power can contribute to the rich social and political history of Rouen. In this paper I focus on the extant charter material in which the ducal family features by virtue of their links with the city. In particular the three religious establishments found in Rouen itself in the eleventh centure provide a solid framework and a wealth of evidence in which to situate these issues. Drawing on cartulary material from Saint-Ouen (founded *c*. 920), La Trinité-du-Mont (later Mont-Sainte-Catherine), and Saint-Amand (both founded in 1030 by Goscelin of Arques and his wife Emmeline) the sample includes both monasteries and a nunnery. This framework allows the relationship of women to power and property to be considered in relation to a number of areas.

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[12] Mansi, *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, xx, records the decrees issued by the Councils of Rouen in 1072 and 1074. Orderic Vitalis sets out the rulings promulgated by the Councils of Rouen in 1072 (Orderic Vitalis, *The Ecclesiastical History*, ed. and trans. by Chibnall, ii, 284–93) and 1128 (Orderic Vitalis, *The Ecclesiastical History*, ed. and trans. by Chibnall, vi, 388–91).

[13] Orderic Vitalis, *The Ecclesiastical History*, ed. and trans. by Chibnall, ii, 200–01, and n. 5 for discussion of the possible date of this episode. See also the essay by Leonie Hicks in this volume.

[14] Orderic Vitalis, *The Ecclesiastical History*, ed. and trans. by Chibnall, ii, 22–23.

[15] Orderic Vitalis, *The Ecclesiastical History*, ed. and trans. by Chibnall, ii, 23–24 and n. 3. It is unclear whether this is Richard II or Richard III here.

In order to make sense of such findings, however, it is necessary to situate them within the broader legal context. The exceedingly complex *Très ancien coutumier* provides Normandy's earliest evidence of legal customs and traditions.[16] The first part of the text was not produced until the end of the twelfth century and it records customs that were continuing to develop, even as they were written down. It is, of course, tempting to use it as a blueprint for earlier practices, but such an approach fails to acknowledge the evolutionary process of customs as they developed in response to changing social and political needs. At best it can offer a guide to customary legal practices, but we should be sensitive to the fact that these were not set in stone. Out of the ninety or so summaries of legal customs found in both parts of the *Très ancien coutumier* at least seven directly deal with issues relating to women and specifically female property in terms of either dower, dowry, or both. These clearly set out not only the amounts and types of goods a woman could expect to receive but also the level of protection accorded to these rights. In terms of the provisions setting out a woman's right to a dowry the general consensus in the *Très ancien coutumier* seems to be that a dowry is equivalent in value to one third of the property (land or chattels) a woman brought with her at the time of marriage.[17] At the same time this provision is made with the welfare of the family's overall property concerns in mind. If, for example, the donor gave more than a third to a female relative the donor's heirs had the right to revoke whatever was given in excess after the death of the donor.[18] Likewise, the value of a dowry was not supposed to fluctuate in accordance with the fortunes of the respective kin group. The value of the dowry was specified as being that which was given at the church door.[19] Such provisions afforded a degree of protection to other kin members keen to safeguard their own interests within the complex nexus of the family group as a whole.

Similar provisos are specified in relation to the definition of dower. Widows were to seek only one third of the land of which their husbands were in possession when they married and had no rights to the chief dwelling, which remained in the heir's possession.[20] This value of one third was held up as a standard to

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[16] *Coutumiers de Normandie*, ed. by Tardif. For some comment, see Power, *The Norman Frontier*, pp. 143–96; Tabuteau, *Transfers of Property in Eleventh-Century Norman Law*, especially pp. 1–6, 223–29.

[17] *Coutumiers de Normandie*, ed. by Tardif, Clause LXXX.

[18] *Coutumiers de Normandie*, ed. by Tardif, Clause LXXX. 2.

[19] *Coutumiers de Normandie*, ed. by Tardif, Clause XIV. 2.

[20] *Coutumiers de Normandie*, ed. by Tardif, Clauses III, LXXIX.1.

which all social classes seemingly adhered including rural and urban landholders.[21] As with dowry, a woman could not claim as dower possessions that which her husband had acquired after their marriage.[22] What is clear throughout these clauses is that women were legitimately entitled to both their dowry and dower, seemingly to the requisite amount of one third. There are even indicators that female rights to dowry and dower were to be protected not only by relatives but also by the ecclesiastical and royal courts.[23] At the same time protection extended not only to women but also to those family members whose kin affiliations were created by the respective marriage(s). Although clearly certain caveats need to be put in place in using the *Très ancien coutumier*, it does provide a useful framework that leads to a whole series of relevant questions, especially those concerned with the actual practice of dowry and dower and its relationship to the expression of female power in Rouen and Normandy.

Women and Property

There are several transactions from the Rouen evidence in which marital property provisions are specified as being involved. In relation to the abbey of Saint-Amand it is recorded that William the Conqueror consented and attested to his wife's grant from her dowry ('de dotario meo').[24] Queen Matilda sought to give to Saint-Amand a ploughland and three gardens at Maintru, 'unum hospitem Alpeidis', and a portion of the crop from her cultivated land at Maintru, Bures, and Osmoy-Saint-Valery. Such an act indicates that women not only had a legitimate right to such property but also that they had a say in what happened to it. In a further donation made to Saint-Amand, William fitz Obsern donated land to the abbey including the dowry (*dos*) of Havis, wife of Raoul d'Evrartmesnil and the *maridace* (marriage portion) of Matilda, wife of Radulf Hachet.[25] Whilst no other details are given, the legitimacy of Havis and Matilda's claims to such land is underlined by the fact that it is specified as belonging to them: it implies that their consent had to be sought before William fitz Osbern could grant these lands to the abbey. It is, however, hard

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[21] *Coutumiers de Normandie*, ed. by Tardif, Clause V.

[22] *Coutumiers de Normandie*, ed. by Tardif, Clause LXXIX.

[23] *Coutumiers de Normandie*, ed. by Tardif, Clauses LXXIX, LXXX.

[24] *Regesta regum Anglo-Normannorum*, ed. by Bates, no. 239.

[25] *Recueil des actes des ducs de Normandie*, ed. by Fauroux, no. 182.

to place these property provisions in a scale of value in terms of the individual family's overall property holdings due to the nature of the extant evidence. All too often the documents provide little more than names of people and lands. Whilst we may expect Matilda as wife of the Duke of Normandy and King of England to have donated a more substantial amount of land in comparison to other noble women, such an assumption does not reveal much about the nature and value of such provisions. Moreover the documents are concerned only with lands that were given away and do not generally make reference to estates that continued to be held.

Of course marital property provisions were not the only types of property transactions involving women in Rouen. Duke Richard II, for instance, subscribed to a charter in which Emma, widow of Eude Grosse-Bourse made a donation to Saint-Ouen.[26] In particular the document records that Emma donated lands which she possessed ('meae possessionis terras'). Similarly William the Conqueror subscribed to a gift made by one Gulbertus to Saint-Amand of various possessions including an allod held by his wife ('ex alodio sue conjugis').[27] On occasion more details are provided as to the extent and nature of lands donated by women. A good example is found in relation to a donation made to Saint-Ouen between 1006 and 1026.[28] Here Duke Richard II subscribed to a charter issued by Adèle with her mother Lola. Amongst the possessions donated are meadows, a vineyard, fishing rights, livestock, and serfs of both sexes. In this case the appearance of a daughter acting alongside her mother as well as the substantial amount of land and possessions donated are significant, especially as it is unusual in the sample considered. In each of the cases cited it is unclear whether the documents are referring to marital property since the types of lands and possessions donated are not specified. Neither is it clear the exact circumstances in which such women chose to donate their property. There is no indication, for example, of why Emma chose to donate at this time or in this period of her life. Why, for instance, did she make this contribution as a widow rather than a wife? Does this reflect changes due to the female lifecycle or simply circumstance? The donation by Adèle is more intriguing since she is referred to as a female sinner (*peccatrix*) in the context of

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[26] *Recueil des actes des ducs de Normandie*, ed. by Fauroux, no. 40.

[27] *Recueil des actes des ducs de Normandie*, ed. by Fauroux, no. 187.

[28] *Recueil des actes des ducs de Normandie*, ed. by Fauroux, no. 39. Although it should be noted that these donations are not mentioned in the grand confirmation of Saint-Ouen's possessions by Duke Richard II: *Recueil des actes des ducs de Normandie*, ed. by Fauroux, no. 53.

her gift to Saint-Ouen. It suggests that this gift was almost certainly made for the salvation of her soul, even perhaps to fulfil penance, although unfortunately no further details are provided.[29] However, what these examples do indicate is that women could hold different sorts of land from those which related directly to their dowry and/or dower and that they appear to have had some say in what happened to these possessions.

It's a Family Affair: Women, Property, and Family Relations

There are further instances of women involved in property transactions alongside another member of their kin group. But in these cases their rights to a specific piece of property and/or land are not precisely cited. For example, William the Conqueror subscribed to a donation made to Saint-Ouen by Robert Bertram along with his wife Susanna of a substantial amount of land and property.[30] The joint nature of their donation is made clear by the phraseology used: 'quas res Robertus Bertram et uxor ejus Susanna dederint beato Audoeno' (that which Robert Bertram and his wife Susanna gave to Saint-Ouen). But in this case no piece of the land or property donated is specifically identified as belonging to Susanna. In another example, Duke Richard II and his brother Robert, Archbishop of Rouen (989–1037), confirmed and subscribed to a grant made by Hugh fitz Turoldus and his wife in relation to Saint-Ouen.[31] Their donation involved fishing rights between Tourville-la-Rivière and Oissel, both of which are situated to the south of Rouen. The charter states: 'ego Hugo, Turoldi filius et Oda uxor carissima mihi, tradimus quondam piscariam' (I Hugo fitz Turold and my dearest wife Oda bequeath fishing rights). Again, the joint nature of the donation is underlined by the terminology used. And as with the first example, Oda is not identified as having a particular claim over the fishing rights donated. Further, in this latter illustration the use of the term *carissima* or 'dearest' gives a rare insight into a loving relationship, which apparently existed between Hugo and his wife. In other cases the information about a joint donation appears incidentally in relation to another more pressing matter. For example, on 12 April 1080 a plea was held before William the Conqueror and his court concerning a counterclaim to La Trinité-du-Mont's

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[29] See below for further discussion of the spiritual benefits of gifts and memory.

[30] *Recueil des actes des ducs de Normandie*, ed. by Fauroux, no. 205.

[31] *Recueil des actes des ducs de Normandie*, ed. by Fauroux, no. 37.

right to the island of Oissel.[32] As part of the abbey's defence of its rights the story of La Trinité-du-Mont's foundation is detailed:

> Therefore, at this gathering, the above-said man Goscelin, *with his wife* [my emphasis] and children, made a donation from his possessions, which he gave to the monastery and, among other estates and gifts of his property, he handed over the island of Oissel, which is also called *Turhulmus*, to La Trinité and its monks, to be possessed freely and fully by hereditary right. The above-mentioned Duke Robert was present and assented and strengthened this with the seal of his confirmation, and all those who had assembled at the dedication heard and supported it.[33]

Here Goscelin, *Vicomte* of Arques, his wife, and their children were involved in the foundation, dedication, and grant (including the island of Oissel) to the abbey in the presence of Duke Robert I and others. The later claim put forward by Gilbert, Bishop of Évreux, was eventually rejected by William the Conqueror's court since Goscelin's grandson, William of Arques, was willing to swear on oath that the land given to La Trinité was held freely and absolutely within his grandfather's lordship. Notwithstanding the complications of the court case, it is clear that Goscelin's wife Emmeline was involved in the foundation of the abbey, although her specific relationship to the lands donated is not made clear.[34] What these cases do illustrate, however, is the centrality of the family group within the context of such donations, since such acts had the potential to affect the power and wealth of the kin group as a whole. That these issues could affect future generations is illustrated by the latter example, in which the grandson of Goscelin and Emmeline was involved in proving the veracity of the initial transaction. Clearly female participation in such matters cannot be treated in isolation, but should be considered in the broader context of familial dynamics and of how these may have changed over time.

There are also instances where it is clear that property is being granted on a woman's behalf. William the Conqueror approved and subscribed to a donation made by William, Count of Arques, and his brother Mauger, Archbishop

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[32] *Regesta regum Anglo-Normannorum*, ed. by Bates, no. 235.

[33] 'In hoc igitur conventu prelibatus vir Gozelin(us), *cum coniuge sua* et filiis, fecit donationem de suis rebus quas dedit monasterio et, inter alia sui iuris predia et dona, insulam Oscelli, que et Turhulmus dicitur, sancte Trinitati et monachis eius, iure hereditario possidendam libere et absolute tradidit, presente supradicto duce Rotb(er)to et annuente ac sue confirmationis sigillo roborante, sed et cunctis qui ad dedicationem convenerant audientibus et faventibus': *Regesta regum Anglo-Normannorum*, ed. by Bates, no. 235.

[34] For more on Emmeline, see below.

of Rouen, to Saint-Ouen.[35] It is specified that this transaction was made in accordance with the wishes of their mother, Papia of Envermeu, second wife of Duke Richard II: 'per voluntatem matris mee Paveie' (by the wishes of my mother, Papia). Similarly William the Conqueror approved and subscribed to a donation made by William and his brother Osbern of various lands to La Trinité.[36] This transaction was apparently made with the approval of their mother, as evidenced by the witness list which underlines Emma's involvement: 'Signum Emme matris eorum quorum est hec donatio' (the signature of their mother Emma whose donation this is). In these circumstances both Papia and Emma are indirectly rather than directly involved in the transaction through their reliance on other family members to ensure that their wishes are carried out. The source materials do not clarify the reasons behind them taking a more passive role in these donations. There are, however, other examples where the reasons behind this indirect involvement are more evident. William the Conqueror subscribed to an act made by Roger, son of Hugh, Bishop of Coutances, to Saint-Amand.[37] In it lands and property were donated for his daughter, Emma, who had become a nun, presumably at Saint-Amand where the goods were gifted: 'quando filiam suam monialem consecravit Domino' (when he dedicated his daughter as a nun to God). Women's entry into the religious life was often made in conjunction with a donation of land to the establishment that they joined.[38] Other examples where this motivation is implied include a donation made by Richard de Beaufour to Saint-Amand for his daughters ('pro filiabus suis')[39] and one by a certain William de Clivilla who similarly donated land to Saint-Amand for his daughter ('pro filia sua').[40] In each of these three cases the idea that these women's kin members donated property to Saint-Amand upon them joining the religious community there is supported further by the dating range of these transactions, namely between 1042 and 1066. Given that Saint-Amand was founded in 1030, these acts date from the first years of its foundation when its need for new members and lands was presumably at its greatest. A more complex case, although one in which these same themes are prominent, concerns a certain Baldric and his sister

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[35] *Recueil des actes des ducs de Normandie*, ed. by Fauroux, no. 112.

[36] *Recueil des actes des ducs de Normandie*, ed. by Fauroux, no. 118.

[37] *Recueil des actes des ducs de Normandie*, ed. by Fauroux, no. 186.

[38] Johnson, *Equal in Monastic Profession*, pp. 23–24.

[39] *Recueil des actes des ducs de Normandie*, ed. by Fauroux, no. 183.

[40] *Recueil des actes des ducs de Normandie*, ed. by Fauroux, no. 184.

Elizabeth who became a nun of Saint-Amand.[41] Here William the Conqueror consented and attested to Baldric's release of the nuns of Saint-Amand from the obligation to provide forty days' worth of military service until Baldric or his heir paid the thirty pounds owed for his sister who had joined the religious community at Saint-Amand. Here, money and military service, rather than land, were involved in the donation concurrent with Elizabeth taking the veil highlighting the variety of possessions and/or rights which could be involved in such transactions. Although the terminology used in this charter is recognized as unusual for this date (between 1066 and 1087), David Bates gives no reason to doubt the authenticity of the document.[42]

More common still in the sample considered are women appearing in the witness lists to such transactions. For instance William the Conqueror confirmed and subscribed to an agreement made between the monks of La Trinité-du-Mont and Raoul de Varenne.[43] In this act, the monks agreed to buy from Raoul different amounts of land in exchange for specified sums of money. Included in the witness list is the signature of his wife Beatrice. The signature of Emmeline, wife of Goscelin, *Vicomte* of Arques, is similarly found in donations made by her husband to La Trinité.[44] The appearance of these women is limited to the witness lists of the relevant documents only, and they do not appear in the main body of the text in any capacity. These examples suggest that women were needed in order to legitimize, in some way, the property donated. And yet the precise nature of female roles in such documents is hard to unravel. Moreover there seem to have been no established rules that set out to what extent and when women should be involved in such grants. There are, for instance, other donations which Goscelin, *Vicomte* of Arques, made to La Trinité which have no mention of his wife Emmeline either in the main body of the charter or in the witness list.[45] In still other donations the exact relationship of all the testators to the main body of the grant is ambiguous. The donation made by Robert Bertram and his wife Susanna to Saint-Ouen to which William the Conqueror subscribed provides a solid example.[46] Although we have already noted the joint nature of the transaction, the witness list names a further four women (includ-

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[41] *Regesta regum Anglo-Normannorum*, ed. by Bates, no. 241.

[42] *Regesta regum Anglo-Normannorum*, ed. by Bates, no. 241, p. 740.

[43] *Recueil des actes des ducs de Normandie*, ed. by Fauroux, no. 135.

[44] For example, *Recueil des actes des ducs de Normandie*, ed. by Fauroux, nos 83, 84.

[45] See for example, *Recueil des actes des ducs de Normandie*, ed. by Fauroux, nos 60, 81.

[46] *Recueil des actes des ducs de Normandie*, ed. by Fauroux, no. 205.

ing Susanna) who testified to the grant. The other three female participants are Matilda, wife of William the Conqueror, an unidentified Matilda, and a further unidentified woman called Emma. Whilst we can explain the inclusion of Matilda as wife of William the Conqueror, whose permission was sought as lord to Robert Bertram, as well as the signature of Susanna as wife of the grantor, the appearance of the second Matilda and Emma remains a mystery. Similarly, William the Conqueror attested and confirmed the redemption by La Trinité of a gift made by Erchembald between 1068 and 1071.[47] Included in the witness list are the signatures of Matilda, wife of William the Conqueror, but also of Emma, mother of William fitz Osbern. Again whilst the inclusion of Matilda as wife of Erchembald's lord is explicable, the reason for the appearance of Emma remains unclear from the information provided in the charter. The apparent lack of clear rules governing female participation in such transactions highlights how careful any interpretation of women's power and agency must be. Whilst the expectation is that all those involved in the donation had some claim on the property gifted, this is an assumption rather than a general theory which can be proved. It is not certain, for instance, that everyone with legitimate rights to a specific piece of property or land is included within the relevant donation. And vice versa it cannot be said definitively that all those involved in a specific transaction had legitimate rights to that particular piece of property or land.

Women and Property: Rouen Politics and Society

The seemingly unsystematic way in which female relatives and others participated in such donations makes any analysis complicated given the fluidity of female involvement. Yet consideration of the multipurpose nature of such acts can illuminate further the agency and power wielded by women within their wider social and political environment.[48] In other words, whilst property transactions might in the main be thought of as economic outputs, this was not the only payback available to women from their involvement in such matters. It is certainly true that there are instances where money was centrally involved in such transactions. William the Conqueror, for example, approved and subscribed to a sale made by Robert, Count of Eu, and his wife Beatrice to the

[47] *Regesta regum Anglo-Normannorum*, ed. by Bates, no. 233.

[48] For the multipurpose nature of such transactions, compare White, *Custom, Kinship, and Gifts to Saints*.

abbey of La Trinité.[49] This is specified as the forest of Épinay and its outbuildings which the couple held by right of inheritance ('iure hereditario'). This property is exchanged for a particular sum of money ('sexaginta libris denariorum' — sixty *livres deniers*). Similarly Raoul de Varenne with the consent of his wife Emma sold to the monks of La Trinité part of a forest for a pre-agreed sum of money, namely seven *denarii*.[50] Roughly within this timeframe the same Raoul de Varenne and his wife Emma sold to Abbot Rainier and the monks of La Trinité four churches and their outbuildings at Émanville, Anglesqueville, Flamanville, and Motteville.[51] This sale also included six acres of land adjacent to each of the churches. Collectively this was sold for thirty *denarii* and clearly was far more valuable than the forest donation. Of course money was not the only economic benefit such transactions could bring to women and their families. William the Conqueror subscribed to a donation made by the two *milites* Richard and Roger, sons of Herluinus the Seneschal, alongside their mother, Ada, to La Trinité.[52] Following their main donation Roger and Ada added two gardens and ten acres of arable land from Authevernes (situated in Upper Normandy, near Évreux). As a result they received from Abbot Rainier and the monks eight *denarii*, a horse, and a dog. With the exception of one of these transactions the terminology used to conduct these agreements is telling.[53] The use of verbs like *accipio* (to receive), *trado* (to hand over), and *do* (to give) recognizes the use of a countergift. The fact that in every case money, animals, or both were given in exchange for land and/or property indicates that the monks recognized the donors' legitimate possession of the said property. The granting of a countergift by the monks was a means of insuring the donation, for it was an attempt to make sure that it would not be contested at a later date.[54] Moreover the involvement of women in each of these examples draws attention to the idea that they could be considered potential claimants or heirs to such property and that this needed to be recognized accordingly.

[49] *Recueil des actes des ducs de Normandie*, ed. by Fauroux, no. 123.

[50] *Recueil des actes des ducs de Normandie*, ed. by Fauroux, no. 206.

[51] *Recueil des actes des ducs de Normandie*, ed. by Fauroux, no. 143.

[52] *Recueil des actes des ducs de Normandie*, ed. by Fauroux, no. 202.

[53] The exception is *Recueil des actes des ducs de Normandie*, ed. by Fauroux, no. 206, which simply uses the verb 'to sell' (*vendo*) in this context.

[54] Livingstone, 'Noblewomen's Control of Property', pp. 58–60; Hudson, *Land, Law, and Lordship*, pp. 165–66; Tabuteau, *Transfers of Property in Eleventh-Century Norman Law*, pp. 113–19.

But there are other benefits listed in the documents which highlight the multipurpose nature of such acts. Alongside the more tangible economic benefits are donations where spiritual welfare is clearly a matter of some concern and importance to the respective donors. For example, William the Conqueror confirmed and subscribed to a donation made by Robert de Mesnières and his wife Renza to the abbey of La Trinité.[55] Their donation involved sixty acres of land at Quèvreville, and as a result they were both admitted into the prayers of the abbey. Similarly William the Conqueror confirmed and attested to an agreement by which William de Vernon and his wife Emma granted to La Trinité the right to move its goods (either by land or water) without facing the tolls or customs normally given to William de Vernon and Emma or which belonged to the castle of Vernon.[56] As a result Abbot Rainier received both William and Emma into the monastery's fraternity: 'pro confirmatione huius conventionis fraternitatem monasterii contulit' (in return for the confirmation of this agreement he bestowed the fraternity of the monastery). In both these cases rather than receiving material countergifts the couples were instead given the spiritual benefits of being remembered and prayed for within the religious community. This suggests that such men and women had a role to play in social memory, defined by Janet Nelson as 'the *memoria*, the commemoration of the dead […] of the ancestors, of the dynasty, of the *gens*'.[57] Their involvement in such transactions helped generate a sense of community and of family by identifying them as donors, thus preserving *memoria* as well as the legal ramifications of their respective acts.[58] In turn this reveals the cultural context of female power in Rouen in relation to religious institutions, in which the actions of women like Renza and Emma can be placed.[59]

As well as highlighting the spiritual benefits of such transactions the donation by William de Vernon and Emma also recognizes an attribute of lordship, namely the right to tax and toll those who sought to move goods through their lands. Such an example helps to illuminate the links and dynamics between spiritual, legal, memorial, and power considerations as they play out within the

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[55] *Recueil des actes des ducs de Normandie*, ed. by Fauroux, no. 101.

[56] *Regesta regum Anglo-Normannorum*, ed. by Bates, no. 234.

[57] Nelson, 'Gender and Genre in Women Historians', p. 151. See also Fentress and Wickham, *Social Memory*; van Houts, *Memory and Gender in Medieval Europe*.

[58] Reuter, 'Property Transactions and Social Relations'.

[59] Compare Johns, *Noblewomen, Aristocracy, and Power*, pp. 85–86, in relation to female witnessing of donations.

context of the respective grant. There are other examples in the Rouen material which draw attention to other attributes of lordship and in which women also feature. Some of the donations explicitly state that the consent of members of the ducal family was sought in their capacity as lords before any such gift could be conferred. For example, a grant made by Ingelrann fitz Ilbert to La Trinité was made with the permission of William the Conqueror, Matilda, and their sons Robert Curthose and William Rufus: 'ego Ingelrannus Hilb(er)ti filius, concessu domini mei Willelmi Anglorum Regis et Mathildis regine, coniugis eius, filiorumque eorum Rotb(er)ti atque Willelmi, dono sancte Trinitati' (I Ingelrann fitz Ilbert with the concession of the lord William, King of England, and Queen Matilda his wife and their sons Robert and William give to Sainte-Trinité).[60] There are other charters which refer to a specific attribute of lordship. In a donation made to La Trinité by its founders, Goscelin of Arques and Emmeline, Robert the Magnificent recognized that they would free the church from their judicial powers ('hunc immunem juris nostris judiciaria exactione reddentes').[61] Although the precise nature of these judicial powers is not specified in the extant charter, they are certainly recognized as being a defining characteristic of lordship.[62] Moreover the document implies that Emmeline had a share in these judicial powers by right of her marital status.

   Other charters delineate more clearly the specific powers associated with the practice of female lordship. William the Conqueror, for instance, subscribed to and approved a donation made by a certain Ansfredus son of Osbern, *Vicomte* of Eu, to La Trinité.[63] In this charter it is specified that Ansfredus and his wife sought the consent of his lords Emma, widow of Osbern the seneschal, and their sons, William and Osbern ('annuentibus dominis meis scilicet Emma Osberni dapiferi uxore et filiis ejus Willelmo et Osberno') before making the grant. Similarly William the Conqueror subscribed to a donation made by Urso and his nephew to La Trinité.[64] In this case the charter states that Urso's lord, Azo, was dead and that it was his wife Hermna and their sons Heppo, Ivo, and Richard whose permission was sought to make the donation: 'Quia vero Azo, illorum dominus, jam erat defunctus, ejus uxor, vocabulo Hermna atque filii Heppo et Ivo ac Ricardus hanc libenter annuerunt donationem' (In fact

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[60] *Regesta regum Anglo-Normannorum*, ed. by Bates, no. 236.

[61] *Recueil des actes des ducs de Normandie*, ed. by Fauroux, no. 61.

[62] Bisson, *The Crisis of the Twelfth Century*, p. 3; Hudson, *Land, Law, and Lordship*.

[63] *Recueil des actes des ducs de Normandie*, ed. by Fauroux, no. 119.

[64] *Recueil des actes des ducs de Normandie*, ed. by Fauroux, no. 221.

because Azo, their lord was now dead, his wife called Hermna, and their sons Heppo, Ivo, and Richard freely gave their assent to this donation). Emma and Hermna's ability to act in this manner derived from their status as widows, suggesting that marital status can provide an indicator as to the range of powers a woman could exert. Indeed historians have long recognized that female power was often magnified as women entered widowhood, for it was this stage in the lifecycle which gave them most access to land in their own right.[65]

Conclusions

An exploration of women's relationship to property in Rouen's history thus sheds light on the city's elite society, its religious and legal life, and broader historical questions relating to women's power and property. Within the sample of Rouen material considered there are two factors which are immediately striking. First, the number of women involved in property transactions, and second, the diversity of circumstances in which such women appear. Women connected with Rouen were involved in donations concerning their marital possessions, other types of property, and family lands and property. They acted alongside other members of their kin group, most commonly their husbands, although on rare occasions they could act with another woman as evidenced in the transaction recorded by Adèle and her mother, Lola. As widows they appeared as lords confirming donations made by their vassals. They also appear in the evidence throughout the female lifecycle as wives, widows, mothers, and even daughters who had made the decision to join a religious community. This very diversity can make general conclusions problematic, but at the same time it is testimony to the vitality and richness of exploring constructions and structures of female power in this period. Far from 'severely reducing' the power of women, the very nature of their right to these forms of property drew women into the wider networks of Rouen society at large.[66] This is illuminated further by an awareness of the multipurpose and broader context in which such acts could be situated. It is simplistic to view the sample solely as evidence of legal customs. The legal implications of such acts were simply one aspect of the dynamics which governed such transactions. Economic, political, and spiritual considerations intersected within such records and illuminate the broader cul-

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[65] Mirrer, *Upon my Husband's Death*.

[66] McNamara and Wemple, 'The Power of Women through the Family', p. 96.

tural context in Rouen society by drawing attention to, for instance, the social memories created from such acts. That women were involved in each of these considerations is testimony to and recognition of their place within Rouen society as a whole. Of course important questions remain as to how far the terminology used to describe female roles within these contexts is a reflection of actual practice. There are no set rules governing the nature and extent of female roles within these transactions. For the early Norman period this is complicated further by the fact that legal customs in the form of the *Très ancien coutumier* were not written down until the late twelfth century. The value of a study which focuses on the period prior to the late twelfth century lies in the fact that the surviving sources allow us to develop an awareness of the evolutionary nature of Rouen's, and indeed Normandy's, legal history up to and including the point at which the *Très ancien coutumier* was produced. At best it can be said that circumstances, position within the female lifecycle, and the dynamics of the family group as a whole all contributed to the fluidity with which female power operated and was presented in the extant evidence. Even from this brief survey it is clear that women, property, and power should be recognized as fundamental in explaining the vitality of Norman society within the city of Rouen during these formative years.

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The Burgesses of Rouen in the Late Twelfth and Early Thirteenth Centuries

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Recent years have seen an increase in studies of the urban history of medieval Normandy and its elite society. This new research has begun to fill the gaps in our historical knowledge about Rouen. Despite possessing fascinating medieval archives, research on Rouen for the eleventh to thirteenth centuries is relatively scarce.[1] No comprehensive study of the city in the manner of Laurence Jean-Marie's monograph on Caen has been published since the *Histoire de Rouen* edited by Michel Mollat (1979).[2] Rouen owed its early emancipation from ducal authority to the famous *Établissements de Rouen*, and from the mid-twelfth century onwards, its inhabitants assumed administration of the city, a privilege granted first by the dukes and confirmed by Philip Augustus at the beginning of the thirteenth century.[3] Even if prosopographical studies sup-

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[1] For example, Bates, 'Rouen from 900 to 1204'; Gauthiez, 'Paris, un Rouen capétien?'; Pitte and Cailleux, 'L'Habitation rouennaise aux xiie et xiiie siècles'; Sadourny, 'Les Grandes familles rouennaises'; Cailleux, 'Le Développement urbain de la capitale normande'; Sadourny, 'Rouen face à Philippe Auguste'; Cailleux, *Trois Paroisses de Rouen*.

[2] Jean-Marie, *Caen aux xie et xiie siècles*; Mollat, *Histoire de Rouen*.

[3] Giry, *Les Établissements de Rouen*. The text of the *Établissements*, the first official charter of the emerging commune, set up one hundred *pairs*, or members of the urban elite, as responsible for the government of the city. Although nothing is said about who the *pairs* were, it is likely that they were chosen from among the members of the 'ghilda mercatorum' (merchants' guild) mentioned in the charter of Henry, Duke of Normandy, dated to 1150–51 (*Recueil des actes de Henri II*, ed. by Delisle and Berger, i, no. 14).

ply some concrete facts, the patchy sources documenting late twelfth-century Rouen do not allow a precise understanding of its society during this period. Nevertheless, it is still possible to distinguish a significant number of notable families, at times those of the highest rank, that played a predominant role in the city, often favouring newer religious institutions, and that constituted the first urban patrician class of Rouen.

Analysis of sources from the turn of the thirteenth century — accounts and judgements from the Exchequer, pipe rolls, ducal and royal acts, alongside the cathedral and monastic archives — provides an interesting repertoire of names, useful for an anthroponomastic study. The ordinance for mills of 1199 and the list of inhabitants that signed the capitulation of Rouen in 1204 are particularly important.[4] From the last quarter of the twelfth century to the first years of the thirteenth century, we find the recurrence of about thirty names. The principal criterion for selecting these names and assessing the importance of certain individuals lies in their repeated presence in the acts, for example in witness lists, as well as their renting of ducal revenues, participation in ducal administration, acquisition of notable goods, and eventual donations to religious institutions. The frequency with which these names are mentioned and the similarities in the scenarios in which they appear are the factors which help us to determine the importance of particular individuals and families in the city.

Ecclesiastical and Monastic Sources

From the beginning of the thirteenth century, charters in the archives of Rouen's abbeys record an expansion in the social classes of their benefactors, an occurrence that not only parallels the birth of Rouen as a town, called the commune,[5] but also reveals the increasing importance of its new 'merchant'

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[4] *Cartulaire normand de Philippe-Auguste*, ed. by Delisle, pp. 160–390, no. 50, and Rouen, Arch. dép. de la Seine-Maritime, 14 H 448 (seventeenth- to eighteenth-century copy); *Recueil des actes de Philippe Auguste, roi de France*, ed. by Delaborde and others, II, no. 803. The mills and their tithes alongside the Robec River represented one of the main sources of income in the city and were often concentrated in the hands of religious houses, such as the cathedral and the abbey of Saint-Ouen. In 1199, an ordinance for the mills of Rouen and their customs was made in four chirographs, one for the archbishop, one for Guillaume Fils Raoul, Seneschal of Normandy, one for Mayor Mathieu le Gros, and the last one for Geoffroi, Abbot of Saint-Ouen. The ordinance established the different rights of the authorities involved, as well as the privileges and exemptions of the millers and bakers of the city.

[5] On the origin of the term 'commune', Benoît de Sainte-Maure gives us an interesting clue when he uses the words 'commun', 'commune', 'comunaument' in the passage concerning

class. At the same time as this social transformation, we see changes in the production of diplomatic documents in several abbeys as well as the cathedral, with the use of a more 'standardized' and unified style. The majority of ecclesiastical and monastic acts from the second half of the twelfth century were regularly witnessed by the same group of individuals, among them the mayors of the town and what was probably the core of a new citizen elite. Rouen's religious institutions seem to have been deprived little by little of their stranglehold on the drafting of charters to the benefit of a professional 'municipal' chancery. The chancery was probably run during this period by a professional office of writers who used different styles when drawing up documents for the king and the monasteries. The examination of about seventy acts reveals fifteen separate scribes active in Rouen.[6] In the charters dating from the reign of Henry II, the abbots were noticeably absent in the witness lists in contrast to the acts of Henry I. We can postulate that the writing of the documents for the abbeys no longer took place in their *scriptoria* under the control of religious dignitaries, but was transferred instead to the professional offices of laymen. The presence of a scribe called Guillaume, 'clerk of the town' in an early thirteenth-century charter of the abbey of Fontaine-Guérard (Eure) is particularly evocative.[7] The fact that the majority of the acts of the period were drawn up 'coram maiore Rothomagensis et sigillo Rothomagensis communie roboratu' (before the Mayor of Rouen and confirmed by the seal of Rouen's commune) was also of great importance. New professional scribes were probably working for the city administration in a specific place in the city, which is unfortunately not mentioned in the sources. Witnesses of the charters also frequently stand out as individuals in relationships with these religious institutions (as patrons and benefactors or linked by property contracts). By the end of the twelfth century we suggest that the service of great religious institutions played a crucial role for some traditional vassals and benefactors as a means of social advancement, giving them access to the city's administration.

Alms gifts and grants were made with increasing frequency by figures connected to the Rouen commune and we can identify lineages as well as isolated individuals. Some of them are mentioned in the obituaries of the cathedral or

Rouen after William Longsword's death. It suggests common interests among the inhabitants of the city, which could be the expression of a community and unity (Benoît of Sainte-Maure, *Chronique des ducs de Normandie*, ed. by Fahlin, I, 434, l. 15,166.

[6] According to Vincent, 'Les Normands de l'entourage d'Henri II Plantagenêt'.

[7] Rouen, Arch. dép. de la Seine-Maritime, 80 HP 35, no. 8.

great monastic institutions, a great honour for this social class that sat somewhere between the nobility and lesser land owners or crafstmen.[8] Their names often evoke Rouen's hinterland: Gotran de *Canteleu*, Raoul de *Cailly*, Raoul de *Cotevrard*, each of whom came from the Pays de Caux; Sylvestre d'*Orgueil* or d'*Argueil*, Nicolas de *Dieppe*, Roger de *Mortemer*, Renaud, Bernard, and Gautier de *Saint-Valéry*, Seffridus, Jean, and Richard d'*Auffay* from Talou. At that time different places in what are now the suburbs of Rouen came under the jurisdiction of the city, and the city drew its leaders from them: Sainte-Vaubourg, Bois-Guillaume, Longpaon, Carville, Saint-Martin du Vivier, Préaux, Saint-Léger du Bourg-Denis, Franqueville, Maromme, Bondeville, Montigny, Saint-Étienne du Rouvray, and a part of the *Essarts* forest. These names also have an east Norman bias suggesting that the city's attraction was limited. This phenomenon might seem surprising in light of Rouen's developing economy during this period, which reached across the English Channel. Although the city's leading officers, belonging to the King of England's household, were mostly English during this period, such as William de Mandeville, Count of Essex, and although, according to Lucien Musset, 'the noble laity [...] felt more and more English',[9] the people of Rouen nevertheless remained the real masters of their city and its activities.

Henry II's concession of the rights of the fair of Saint-Gilles to the lepers of Mont-aux-Malades, made at Quevilly and dated to between 1172 and 1178, contains the testimony of two individuals with distinct family names: Jean Fils Luc and Bernard Comin, alongside members of the king's government, such as Hugues de Lacy and Séhier de Quincy.[10] According to Pierre Langlois, Jean Fils Luc became 'bishop of Évreux' after having served Gautier de Coutances, Archbishop of Rouen (1184–1207), as a clerk.[11] A witness with the same name

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[8] *Répertoire des documents nécrologiques français*, ed. by Marot and Lemaître, I; 'E Rotomagensis ecclesiae necrologio' (from the thirteenth century onwards); Rouen, BM, MS Y 82 (microfilm mi97) and Rouen, Arch. dép. de la Seine-Maritime, G 2094; Obituary of the abbey of Saint-Ouen (cursory), in Rouen, BM, MS A 459, *Missale Rothomagensis* (thirteenth century). On the use of obituaries in a prosopographical manner, see Bulst, *Untersuchungen zu den Klosterreformen Wilhelms von Dijon*. The obituaries were notably considered as real mirrors reflecting the political and economical relations of the religious institutions.

[9] Musset, 'Quelques problèmes posés par l'annexion de la Normandie', p. 293.

[10] Rouen, Arch. dép. de la Seine-Maritime, 25 HP 1; Rouen, BM, MS Y 44, fol. 68; and Langlois, *Histoire du prieuré du Mont-aux-Malades-lès-Rouen*, p. 399.

[11] Langlois, *Histoire du prieuré du Mont-aux-Malades-lès-Rouen*, pp. 9, 399: he could be Jean I, Archbishop of Evreux (1181–92), native of Rouen, canon of the cathedral between *c.* 1156 and 1181, canon of Richard, Archbishop of Canterbury, of Gautier de Coutances,

appears in several contemporary records.[12] The name Bernard Comin appears in an act where his wife Hawise ceded to Archbishop Gautier her share of a house that had jointly belonged to her brother, Raoul Fils Étienne,[13] and Ivo de Grand-Pont. This charter was confirmed by Raoul, Chancellor of Henry II, during the period when Barthélémy Fergant was mayor, probably around 1190. Hawise shared her rights to this house with Emma, daughter of the well-known Emma the *Vicomtesse*,[14] and the witnesses of this act were Hugues de Cressy (one of the guards of the tower of Henry II), Guillaume de Malpalu, Gautier Fils Géroud, Nicolas Groignet, Lucas du Donjon, Geoffroi du Val Richer or *le Changeur* (the moneychanger), Barthélémy Bataille, Nicolas de Dieppe, and Roger de Beaumont.[15]

Archbishop of Rouen, and of King Henry II. One of his relatives, Luc, also became archbishop, between 1203 and 1220 (Chassant, *Histoire des évêques d'Évreux*, pp. 51–52, 57–59).

[12] For example, in the cathedral's cartulary: Rouen, BM, MS Y 44, no. 228.

[13] He owned lands in Rouen, in the parish of Notre-Dame la Ronde, and also rights on the mills of Carville (Rouen, Arch. dép. de la Seine-Maritime, 20 H 6 and Rouen, Arch. dép. de la Seine-Maritime, G 4363).

[14] The career of *Vicomtesse* Emma, in the second half of the twelfth century, was indeed a mysterious one. Active in Normandy, England, and the Paris region, she farmed out the income of the duchy, engaged in trade, and appeared in the obituary registers of ecclesiastical institutions. Henry II, his example followed by high-ranking members of his court, lent her his support while she frequented the citizen elite, the merchants, and the moneylenders involved in the emergence of the commune of Rouen. Surprisingly her four sons, Geoffroi, Hugues, Henri, and Guillaume, were called 'sons of the *Vicomtesse*', as if the prestige of their mother was the most important means of identifying them. Geoffroi and Hugues played an active part in the governing of the town, but nothing is known of the social origins of the *Vicomtesse*, who was never considered in association with a husband, yet rose to positions of importance and took on responsibilities rarely assumed at that time by a woman acting in her own right. Between 1158 and 1163 Emma, already mentioned as '*Vicomtesse* of Rouen', was involved in the farm of Southampton, succeeding Guillaume Trentegerons, and then she was in charge of the income of Rouen's farm until 1180. In each case, this means that at that time the king's estates and income were not run and collected by his local officers, but by farmers who paid a predetermined annual rent to be in charge of very important sources of income for the crown. Southampton was the chief port of entry for the king's wine in England and Rouen provided an essential link between Paris and England. Before 1204, following English examples, Rouen's burgesses exploited the income possessed by the duke in the *vicomté* of Rouen themselves. The commune and the *vicomté* had to render their accounts at the Exchequer. The identity of Emma's husband is uncertain, but she may have been linked by marriage to the family of Raoul Fils Etienne or the Trentegerons, to Guillaume in particular. Six, 'De la Vicomtesse Emma et de son entourage'; compare *Recueil des actes de Henri II*, ed. by Delisle and Berger, intro., pp. 214–18.

[15] Rouen, BM, MS Y 44, fol. 68ᵛ.

Aside from this tie through his wife to Emma the *Vicomtesse*'s family, Bernard Comin enjoyed access to the royal court. According to Léopold Delisle, a charter of the abbey of Bec-Hellouin, in which Bernard Comin is described as a *senior*, attests to his donation of one hundred acres of land that had been given to him by the Empress Matilda in the Caux region.[16] The concession was made on the condition that Bernard Comin and his son Robert would be received as monks in the abbey of Bec whenever they so desired. Following Richard the Lionheart's charter of confirmation, Bernard effectively became a monk at the abbey.[17] King Richard also confirmed in 1190 the Abbess of Saint-Amand's acquisition of the Ruelle mill in Carville from Bernard Comin, his wife Hawise, and their eldest son, Guillaume.[18] We find the name Comin again on a seal from 1226 in the archives of the archdiocese of Rouen, attached to a charter about a new transfer of rights regarding the mills of Carville.[19] In the thirteenth century, the patronage of the church of Saint-Clément (close to the Porte Saint-Clément on the south side of the city's walls and near Rouen's donjon, to which the church was closely linked for a long time) belonged to the Comin family, who might have been in charge of several offices at the palace in the 1160s. In general, documents show that the Comin lineage was established in Rouen from this period on. If the absence of a family name stemming from aristocratic origins is one of the specific characteristics of this emerging group of 'merchants' in Rouen, certain people, such as Bernard Comin, showed themselves to be very powerful and sometimes directly connected to ducal power.

Several charters from Rouen's religious institutions not only illustrate the existence of the town's first patricians, but also provide information about them. By cross-referencing the appearance of the names of individuals through various sources, we discover that they frequently appear in the archives of the cathedral, the abbeys of Saint-Ouen and Saint-Amand, and the priories of Saint-Lô and Mont-aux-Malades, as donors, witnesses, and participants in contracts concerning landholdings and houses.[20] The thirteenth-century cartulary of

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[16] BnF, MS lat. 13905, fol. 26ᵛ, and Porée, *Histoire de l'abbaye du Bec*, I, 342. For the Empress Matilda's connections with the abbey of Bec-Hellouin and with Notre-Dame du Pré (priory of Le Bec in Rouen), see Chibnall, 'The Empress Matilda and Bec-Hellouin'.

[17] Porée, *Histoire de l'abbaye du Bec*, I, 342, n. 2.

[18] Le Cacheux, 'Histoire de l'abbaye de Saint-Amand de Rouen', pp. 253–54.

[19] Demay, *Inventaire des sceaux de la Normandie*, no. 193.

[20] Saint-Lô, Rouen: priory of canons regular, founded in 1144. Mont-aux-Malades: leper house founded in the early twelfth century.

Rouen Cathedral in particular contains several important clues, unfortunately undated. Among the witnesses to a charter of Gautier du Chastel and his wife Emma, daughter of Emma the *Vicomtesse*, regarding 'Emma's dowry' (we do not know exactly if this refers to the *Vicomtesse* or her daughter) of ten gold marks for the house that belonged to her husband Raoul Fils Etienne, were Richard de Malpalu, Gautier Fils Géroud, Nicolas Groignet, Hugues and Geoffroi the sons of the *Vicomtesse*, and Clarembaud le Roux.[21] A charter of Tustan le Maçon and his wife Bona was witnessed by Guillaume de Malpalu, Jean Fils Luc, Hugues and Geoffroi the sons of the *Vicomtesse*, Gautier Fils Géroud, Nicolas Groignet, Roger de Beaumont, and Barthélémy Bataille.[22] The knights Henri de *Hosa* and Robert de Fresquiennes alongside Clarembaud le Roux, Nicolas de Dieppe, Jean Fessart, Raoul Groignet, and Laurent du Donjon witnessed a charter of Mathieu le Gros and his wife Mathilde.[23]

In the cartulary of Rouen Cathedral, we also see Mayor Barthélémy Fergant as early as 1177 surrounded by the leading men of the city.[24] The cathedral's archives contain the donation by Roesia d'Osberville, widow of Widon of Rokeford, to the chapter of Rouen of her right of *advocatio* (presentation) to the church of Saint-Aubin de *Carlevilla*, which seems to date to the end of the twelfth century.[25] The act was drawn up before Luc, Mayor of Rouen, and several patricians.[26]

The archive of the abbey of Saint-Ouen contains a charter dated to around 1185 by which Geoffroi, son of Emma the *Vicomtesse*, ceded his land in Franqueville to his godson Nicolas, son of Luc du Donjon, for a pound of pepper each year. Geoffroi also received one gold bezant *de recognitione*.[27] The

[21] Rouen, BM, MS Y 44, fol. 68ʳ⁻ᵛ. For the different assumptions about Emma's husband, see Six, 'De la Vicomtesse Emma et de son entourage'.

[22] Rouen, BM, MS Y 44, no. 228.

[23] Rouen, BM, MS Y 44, no. 241.

[24] Rouen, BM, MS Y 44, fols 60, 69, 107, 108ᵛ, 109ʳ. The names mentioned are Guillaume de Malpalu, Guillaume de Bréauté, Gautier Fils Géroud, Nicolas Groignet, Guillaume Cavalier, Roger d'Orgueil, Luc du Donjon, Guillaume Petit, Geoffroi du Val-Richer, Hugues le Tuilier, Barthélémy Bataille, Richard son of Benoît, Roger Baudry, Jean de Saint-Candide, Nicolas de Dieppe, Roger son of Guy, Roger de Beaumont, Raoul de Cotevrard, Raoul de Cauville, Simon Naguet, Jordan Joismare, Raoul de la Vigne, Mauger de Saint-Lô, Guillaume and Robert de la Mare, the sons of the *Vicomtesse* Hugues and Geoffroi, and Clarembaud le Roux.

[25] Probably Cailleville, Seine-Maritime.

[26] Rouen, Arch. dép. de la Seine-Maritime, G 4125.

[27] Rouen, Arch. dép. de la Seine-Maritime, 14 H 916.

document was signed in the presence of Abbot Samson (1181–93) and among the *testes* are, significantly, Geoffroi le Changeur, Sylvestre le Changeur, and Mathieu le Gros. Another charter dating to around 1200, concerning the priory of Saint-Gilles lès Elbeuf, dependent on Saint-Ouen, mentions the names of Guillaume Fils Raoul (seneschal of Normandy), Robert d'Harcourt (lord of Elbeuf), and the Mayor, Lucas du Donjon, and has as witnesses both patricians and knights.[28] Although it is mentioned, the seal of the town is unfortunately missing from this charter.

Several records in the archive of the Benedictine abbey of Saint-Amand are particularly interesting. In one of them, Mathieu le Gros and his wife Mathilde gave the abbey an annuity to be taken from the mills of Carville near Rouen: significantly, the document is witnessed by the members of the commune. Some other later charters regarding Thomas du Pré and the mills of Darnétal were drawn up in the presence of Jean Luc and Pierre de Quevilly, the mayors of Rouen, between 1213 and 1222. The witnesses, frequently called *burgenses* (burgesses), were Robert du Chastel, Nicolas de Dieppe, Sylvestre d'Orgueil, Jean Fessart, Raoul *Judeus*, Jean Batiecoc, Enard de la Rive, Guillaume de Carville, Guillaume de Cailly, Guillaume, clerk, and the knights Guillaume Escuacol, Robert de Fresquiennes, Gautier Pipart, and Henri Waspail.[29]

In the archive of the leper house of Mont-aux-Malades, a charter of Enguerran de Pratelles contains his sale of a plot of land located close to that owned by Mathilde la Grosse (the wife of Mathieu le Gros) to Robert *Barnarius*. This document was drawn up in the presence of the Mayor, Raoul of Cotevrard, probably around 1201. The witnesses included a member of the Groignet family (the name is missing due to a lacuna in the charter), Geoffroi and Hugues sons of the *Vicomtesse*, Mathieu le Gros, and Geoffroi le Changeur, among others.[30]

At the Archives nationales in Paris, documents regarding Rouen appear in a collection related to the Templar commandery of Sainte-Vaubourg.[31] Probably in the very early thirteenth century, Henry, son of the *Vicomtesse*, gave a house on the rue Saint-Éloi to Mathieu le Gros, whom he called 'cognato meo' (my relation), for thirty-five *liv. ang.* and one silver mark. This house was located

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[28] Rouen, Arch. dép. de la Seine-Maritime, 14 H 796.

[29] Rouen, Arch. dép. de la Seine-Maritime, 55 H 250.

[30] Rouen, Arch. dép. de la Seine-Maritime, 25 HP 6.

[31] A former ducal house, probably given by Henry II in 1173 to the Templars with the consent of the monks of Bec-Hellouin; today located in the town of Val-de-La-Haye, near Rouen.

on a domain that he had received from the king, the perimeters of which were delineated by the properties of Mathieu le Gros and those of the chancellor Richard on either side, and the stone house that belonged to Guillaume Trentegerons. The charter was made in the presence of Durand du Pin, bailiff of the king, and Luc du Donjon, Mayor of Rouen, and witnessed by the same people, including Guillaume 'de more judaico'.[32]

In the records of the abbey of Saint-Georges de Boscherville, two documents in particular show a similar list. The first is a confirmation by Luc, Mayor of Rouen, of the donation of houses and pastures in Rouen made by Robert de Fresquiennes to the abbey. The act was drawn up in the presence of the Mayor and the 'pares illius civitatis' (the *pairs* of that city), and of Victor (1157–c. 1211), Abbot of Saint-Georges.[33] In the second document, Mathilde, daughter of *Farmanus*, gave to the abbey for the salvation of her soul a house close to the postern of the Seine in Rouen: the donation was made before Luc du Donjon, Mayor, and the *pairs* of the town.[34]

The archives of the Cistercian abbey of Fontaine-Guérard (Eure) also contain useful documents.[35] In them, we find an acquisition made by Robert le Juif (*Judeus*) from Gilbert de Cailly of properties located in Rouen on the rue de la Renelle. The act was drawn up in the presence of Mathieu le Gros, Mayor of Rouen (his last tenure as mayor was in 1200) and owner of this fief, 'plena communie tempore' (with the commune in full session). In another charter housed in this abbey's archives dating from 1227, Gentia Groignet, widow of Hugues Groignet, transferred an annuity from land belonging to Gilbert the moneychanger to Hugues and Robert, sons of Alain. Among the witnesses were Jean and Adam Fessart, Geoffroi Trentegerons, and Guillaume, 'clerk of the town'.[36]

Within these witness lists by the end of the twelfth century, we see an urban elite emerging, apart from the ducal officers, whose family names are clearly distinct. They witnessed alongside knights of high rank, such as Robert de Fresquiennes and the Cailly family, and were the heirs of craftsmen, or crafts-

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[32] Paris, Arch. nat., S 5199, no. 65. For more information about the Jewish community in Rouen, see Golb, *Les Juifs de Rouen au Moyen Âge* and Golb, *The Jews in Medieval Normandy*. For an overview of the historiography, see the essay by Elma Brenner and Leonie Hicks in this volume.

[33] Rouen, Arch. dép. de la Seine-Maritime, 14 H 184, no. 10.

[34] Rouen, Arch. dép. de la Seine-Maritime, 14 H 184, no. 13.

[35] Fontaine-Guérard was an abbey richly endowed by Robert de Beaumont, on the initiative of Archbishop Gautier de Coutances, by the end of the twelfth century.

[36] Rouen, Arch. dép. de la Seine-Maritime, 80 HP 35, nos 2, 8.

men themselves, as their names sometimes attest (Hugues *Le Tuilier*, the 'tile maker'). Rouen undoubtedly comprised a mixed social elite during this phase of its history, bringing together *milites*, or 'urban knights',[37] members of the lower and higher nobility established in Rouen and its suburbs, and merchants and lesser landholders, creating a new dominant urban class. Although we have no information about possible social networks based on marriage alliances, clearly the two groups had common material interests and a common political ideology stressing service to the city. Moreover, their specific designation by family name prohibits us from establishing their social rank until the thirteenth century: while the word *cives* (citizens) is sometimes attributed to particular individuals in the twelfth century, we do not know exactly what distinguishes them from other groups. It is not until after 1204 that the word *burgenses* (burgesses) is more frequently used.[38] We have seen that Bernard Comin was described as a *senior*, that he seems to have been close to the royal court, as well as to Emma the *Vicomtesse*'s family, and that he was linked to the famous abbey of Bec-Hellouin: he may well be a perfect example of this intermediate status of the burgesses, who could sometimes fulfil aristocratic offices, despite a non-noble origin.

Although the new citizen elite imitated the patronage of the high-ranking benefactors of the cathedral or ancient abbeys such as Saint-Ouen, they directed their interest more towards the new urban religious foundations, for example Mont-aux-Malades, the priory of Saint-Lô, or the hospital of La Madeleine, perhaps to distance themselves from the nobility and mark the beginning of a new era. Familial strategies also led to their frequent investment in ecclesiastical properties, which paralleled their service to the city. Some families provided members of the cathedral chapter, for example the le Changeur-Val Richers or the Groignets,[39] in spite of rivalry between the town and the religious authorities, who at that time played a significant role in Rouen in terms of justice and the economy. These adversaries often confronted each other over properties and lands that they possessed in the city or about problems relating to the different jurisdictions over which they presided. During a council held in Rouen in 1189 under Archbishop Gautier de Coutances, business partnerships between clerks

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[37] Described as 'Rotomagenses milites' by Dudo of Saint-Quentin (Dudo of Saint-Quentin, *De moribus et actis primorum Normanniae ducum*, ed. by Lair, p. 87).

[38] See Jean-Marie, 'Le Terme "bourgeois" dans les sources narratives normandes'.

[39] See Tabbagh, *Diocèse de Rouen*.

and laymen were denounced and the individuals concerned were threatened with excommunication.[40]

The presence of the names of leading citizens in the charters of a more distant abbey, such as Fontaine-Guérard, reflects the omnipresence of the town administration when the acts concerned incomes and lands located in Rouen. The many appearances of a certain 'Guillaume, clerk' in the records of different religious institutions, alongside the same patricians, strengthens the hypothesis that there was an emerging town chancery, which goes hand in hand with the more homogeneous diplomatic style in the majority of these charters from the end of the twelfth century. During this period, we see the establishment of the town's administrative and functional supervision of the different documents made for Rouen's religious institutions (property contracts, leases and incomes, rights, regulation of conflicts).

Lineages and Individuals

By cross-referencing information from religious and secular sources with the economic information contained in the pipe rolls, it is possible to reconstitute parts of the history of several significant families, as well as isolated members of the urban elite that regularly appear in the documentation of the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries.

The du Donjon Family

The du Donjons were linked to the tower, located on the banks of the Seine in the south-west corner of the town.[41] This tower, which was part of the Norman dukes' palace built under Richard I or Richard II, is the first stone donjon documented in Normandy.[42] The name 'du Donjon' was probably a reflection of the office the family initially held in this building, since we suppose that they were responsible for guarding and maintaining the tower. Lucas

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[40] Godin and Pommeraye, *Sanctae Rotomagensis Ecclesiae Concilia*, p. 175.

[41] *Magni rotuli scaccarii Normanniae sub regibus Angliae*, ed. by Stapleton, I and for the du Donjon family, p. cxv. See Sadourny, 'Une famille rouennaise à la fin de la période ducale'.

[42] Le Maho, 'Recherches sur les origines de quelques églises de Rouen', p. 193, and Le Maho, 'La "Tour-de-Rouen"', believes it was built by Richard I. Bernard Gauthiez suggests either Richard I or Richard II: see his essay in this volume.

du Donjon was Mayor of Rouen in 1187, 1189, and 1194,[43] and Laurent du Donjon and his son Nicolas appear in the records by the end of the twelfth century. (Laurent was mentioned in the pipe roll of 1198 and died sometime before 1248.) Described as 'mercatores Rothomagenses' (merchants of Rouen), the du Donjons would have actively traded with England. Laurent appeared as a witness in the donation made by Raoul de Cailly to the merchants of the Rouen market hall of a plot of land he owned right next to it. This building, rebuilt in stone in the late twelfth century and located in the parish of Saint-Éloi, a parish near the Seine embankments, was the first town hall of Rouen where the communal government assembled.[44] Laurent was one of King John's moneylenders and continued to enjoy trading privileges in England after 1204 and under King Henry III (1216–72), as did his son Nicolas.[45] In 1203, he was entrusted by King John with the incomes of the coal and wood sales in Rouen.[46] However he never became mayor; although he still appears in the sources after 1204, the political change in Rouen may have prevented him from advancing his position.

The le Changeur/Val Richer Family

Geoffroi le Changeur, the moneychanger, a great personality in the city and a man close to the royal administration, is frequently mentioned in the Exchequer pipe rolls.[47] In 1195, he gave an account of the money, around £28,000, brought to him for King Richard's ransom. He was also involved in the town's business, appearing to be responsible for the administration of the duke's funds. For example, the pipe roll of 1195 shows his accounts regarding the incomes of

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[43] For example, Rouen, Arch. dép. de la Seine-Maritime, 14 H 184, no. 13 and Paris, Arch. nat., S 5199, nos 55, 56, 65.

[44] Rouen, BM, City Arch., drawer 417. Cerné, 'Une ancienne halle aux marchands de Rouen'.

[45] *Rotuli litterarum patentium in Turri Londinensi asservati*, ed. by Hardy, pp. 19b, 86a.

[46] *Rotuli chartarum in Turri Londinensi asservati*, ed. by Hardy, p. 106. For further discussion of King John's activities in Rouen, see Paul Webster's essay in this volume.

[47] *Magni rotuli scaccarii Normanniae sub regibus Angliae*, ed. by Stapleton, I, pp. cxl–cxli. See Cadiou 'Une grande famille rouennaise'. The name le Changeur, here, seems to represent a label designating economic activity, rather than a real family name. In the charters, Geoffroi does not frequently bear his name of Val Richer, but sometimes he is clearly mentioned as a member of this famous family, which emerged more distinctly in the thirteenth century: *Magni rotuli scaccarii Normanniae sub regibus Angliae*, ed. by Stapleton, II, p. cxlix.

leather, wool, and salt in Rouen. A part of these revenues was paid to the Mayor of Rouen for construction work in the city.[48] He also controlled the shipping of the king's wines from *Leure* (Le Havre) to Rouen and the ducal castles.[49] Several documents attest to his handling of very large sums of money and to his collection of leases and payments for the duke, some of which were often paid to the commune, represented by its mayor.[50] Geoffroi was frequently associated with the citizen elite,[51] and his name is specified in the pipe roll of 1198, where we read that 'Geoffroi de Val Richer, the moneychanger of Rouen', gave an account of the money spent by King Richard on the defence of the eastern border of Normandy.[52] Although he was well established in Rouen and came into possession of mills in Martainville, thanks to King Richard,[53] the family took a larger part in the government of the commune in the thirteenth century: Jean de Val Richer became mayor in 1232, and the family continued to hold this post many times. This is one of the rare families that we can trace in the records until the fifteenth century.

By the end of the twelfth century, it seems that there were many Christian money handlers at Rouen who were prominent among the burgess elite and whose importance needs to be emphasized, in particular vis-à-vis Rouen's Jewish community and its already well-studied role in financing the Crown.[54] At the same period in Paris, although a few Christians were identified as money lenders, this activity generally remained in Jewish hands. Rouen appears as a dynamic town where the importance of the trade relations with England and the multiplicity of cash transactions required a high level of exchange activities. It is interesting to recall here the very rare quotations of Norman currency in the English sources, and it seems likely that it was Rouen's money handlers who carried out these conversions across the English Channel. The reiteration of the papal proscription of usury by the Third Lateran Council in 1179 (and later by the preaching of the papal legate Robert de Courson in Rouen in 1214) does not seem to have restrained the money business in the city nor to have cast scorn

[48] *Magni rotuli scaccarii Normanniae sub regibus Angliae*, ed. by Stapleton, I, p. clxv.

[49] *Magni rotuli scaccarii Normanniae sub regibus Angliae*, ed. by Stapleton, II, p. cxlviii.

[50] *Magni rotuli scaccarii Normanniae sub regibus Angliae*, ed. by Stapleton, II, p. xxxviii.

[51] Paris, Arch. nat., S 5199, nos 55–56, 65; Paris, Arch. nat., S 4889 B, no. 12.

[52] *Magni rotuli scaccarii Normanniae sub regibus Angliae*, ed. by Stapleton, I, 235 and II, pp. clxvii, xiii, xv–xvi, cxlix.

[53] Rouen, BM, Reg. T3, fol. 22.

[54] Golb, *Les Juifs de Rouen au Moyen Âge*, pp. 101–42.

on the powerful Christian money handlers who were regularly employed by the dukes. Sylvestre le Changeur, for example, may have belonged to the d'Orgueil family known to have been established in the parish of Saint-Éloi.[55] Sylvestre le Changeur, who was responsible for the clearing of the forest of Lillebonne in 1195, together with Gautier Marcdargent, another name evoking his profession, sent a shipment of oats to Bordeaux for the King's use.[56] He became Mayor of Rouen in 1209 and owned a house opposite the church of Notre-Dame de la Ronde. Geoffroi and Sylvestre, the moneychangers, both appear among the witnesses in a charter of Geoffroi, son of the *Vicomtesse*, around 1185.[57] In the pipe roll of 1198, another individual called Roland le Changeur paid Gervais de Hampton's debt, in solidarity with two other unknown men and alongside Emma the *Vicomtesse*.[58] Philippe le Changeur and Gilbert le Changeur are also mentioned in the sources of Rouen's religious institutions,[59] as well as Gautier and Nicolas Marcdargent.

The du Chastel Family

The du Chastel lineage was undoubtedly one of the longest lasting merchant families of Rouen. Gautier du Chastel married Emma, daughter of Emma the *Vicomtesse*. With her husband, Emma sold to the treasurer of Rouen and future archbishop, Gautier de Coutances, her rights to a house that belonged to Raoul Fils Étienne shortly before 1182.[60] The du Chastel family provided a mayor, Robert du Chastel, in 1181, and its members subsequently assumed this duty several times during the thirteenth century. In about 1194, Gautier du Chastel

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[55] Rouen, Arch. dép. de la Seine-Maritime, 14 H 20, nos 20, 103, 110; Rouen, Arch. dép. de la Seine-Maritime, 55 H 250 (charter of Thomas du Pré); Rouen, Arch. dép. de la Seine-Maritime, G 4359; Rouen, BM, MS Y 44, no. 247 and Rouen, BM, City Arch., drawer 417; Paris, Arch. nat., S 5199, no. 65.

[56] *Magni rotuli scaccarii Normanniae sub regibus Angliae*, ed. by Stapleton, i, 235.

[57] Rouen, Arch. dép. de la Seine-Maritime, 14 H 916.

[58] *Magni rotuli scaccarii Normanniae sub regibus Angliae*, ed. by Stapleton, ii, 395.

[59] Paris, Arch. nat., S 5199, nos 64–65.

[60] Three charters concern Raoul Fils Étienne's house in the cathedral's cartulary: Rouen, BM, MS Y 44, nos 84, 176–77, fols 68ᵛ, 108ᵛ, 109. The act was confirmed by Raoul, chancellor of King Henry II, and recorded in *Recueil des actes de Henri II*, ed. by Delisle and Berger, intro., pp. 1000–01, n. 7. Gautier du Chastel appears under a reference to *Walterus de Castello* in the Cathedral's cartulary (fol. 68ᵛ), transcribed as *Walterus de Castellione* by Delisle. See Six, 'De la Vicomtesse Emma et de son entourage'.

and Guillaume Groignet travelled together to Jerusalem, probably more motivated by financial prospects rather than for pious reasons, and it was specified that Guillaume would receive one fifth of the common profits earned 'in itinere' (on the journey).[61] Both of these merchants presumably intended to take advantage of the crusaders' presence in the Holy Land. While they were, without doubt, linked to Rouen's moneylenders and to the duke's entourage, the du Chastels do not appear frequently in the pipe rolls, which would suggest that their power was based solely on trade; unfortunately, the sources that would confirm this conclusion no longer survive.

The Trentegerons and Malpalu Families

Among the primary lineages of Rouen's burgesses were the Trentegerons: Geoffroi, Guillaume, and Jean. Geoffroi became Mayor in 1218, while Guillaume, who in 1158 held the farm of Southampton, is another candidate for the husband of *Vicomtesse* Emma.[62] He was said to be in possession of a house made of stone near the rue Saint-Éloi, in a charter for the sale of a plot of land by Henry, son of the *Vicomtesse*, to Mathieu le Gros.[63] Jean was also possibly associated with the *Vicomtesse* through the farm of the *vicomté* of Rouen, as he is mentioned in the pipe rolls of 1180 and 1198.[64]

The Malpalu family was also very significant: for example, Robert de Malpalu became Mayor around 1203–04.[65] At an unknown date, Odoin, son of Geoffroi de Malpalu, was a witness for the abbey of Saint-Ouen alongside Richard de Préaux, when the church of Bailleul was given to Saint-Ouen. He could be the same Odoin de Malpalu to whom Henry II granted the office of *panetier*, namely to supply bread to the king and his court, as well as to supervise all of the bakeries in Rouen and its suburbs. In 1172, Guillaume de Malpalu administered a territory of which Pont-Audemer would become the capital, and in 1180 he was in charge of the Roumois *vicomté* and the territory that

[61] Rouen, Arch. dép. de la Seine-Maritime, G 4322. Deck, 'Les Marchands de Rouen sous les ducs'.

[62] For suggestions about who Emma's husband was, see Six, 'De la Vicomtesse Emma et de son entourage'.

[63] Six, 'De la Vicomtesse Emma et de son entourage'. Paris, Arch. nat., S 5199, nos 59, 65, 67; Rouen, Arch. dép. de la Seine-Maritime, G 4289; Rouen, Arch. dép. de la Seine-Maritime, G 4356; Rouen, Arch. dép. de la Seine-Maritime, 80 HP 35, no. 8.

[64] *Recueil des actes de Henri II*, ed. by Delisle and Berger, I, 214, n. 4.

[65] Rouen, Arch. dép. de la Seine-Maritime, 14 H 280.

ran between the Andelle River and the forest of Jumièges, which included the city of Rouen.[66] He paid the salary of Jean Fils Lucas, who was at that time the custodian of the castle of Monfort-sur-Risle, and he controlled the transportation of wine to Gasny and several territories dependent upon the king in this bailliage, such as that held by Geoffroi le Changeur in *Wautereia*. At various times, Guillaume carried the different titles of 'sergeant of the king', 'serviens regis' (servant of the king), and 'justitia regis' (justice of the king). In 1186, he was mentioned as the royal clerk. He appears as a witness for a donation to the abbey of Mortemer-en-Lyons around 1165–83, as well as for that of Empress Matilda to the abbey of Le Valasse alongside Bernard Comin.[67] However, the Malpalu family was known above all for having provided important figures at the cathedral, such as the dean Richard de Malpalu (1198–1207).[68] Around 1180, Richard bought an inheritance on the rue Saint-Amand from Durand and his wife *Ooldis*, which was witnessed by Mayor Barthélémy Fergant.[69]

Individuals

The identity of other members of the commune can also be sketched. Barthélémy Fergant was the first Mayor of Rouen to be mentioned in the records: he seems to have regularly held this office from 1171 to 1182, or even to 1190. In 1180, he and Hughes Wastel, in the name of the town of Rouen, accounted for what was still owed to the King from the *vicomté* of Rouen, for the wine *mueson* (tax collected on wine shipping), for the mills, and for shipping on the Seine in general.[70] Barthélémy Fergant was also responsible for alms gifts and payments of annuities to the chaplain and the custodian of the tower, to the leper house of Mont-aux-Malades, to the sexton of the priory of Le Pré outside Rouen (a dependency of the abbey of Bec-Hellouin), and to Enguerrand le Portier for construction work at the castle of Beauvoir-en-Lyons.

Jean Fessard (or Fessart) became Mayor of Rouen in 1186 and perhaps also around 1191; he is, moreover, mentioned in the sources for the first thirty

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[66] *Magni rotuli scaccarii Normanniae sub regibus Angliae*, ed. by Stapleton, I, p. cxv.

[67] Gallagher, 'The Monastery of Mortemer-en-Lyons', act 183, p. 281, and *Chronicon Valassense truncatum a R.P. Arturo du Monstier*, p. 38.

[68] Richard de Malpalu and the cathedral canons Nicholas, Philip, and Roger de Malpalu in the early thirteenth century: Tabbagh, *Diocèse de Rouen*, pp. 301, 330, 344, 363.

[69] Rouen, Arch. dép. de la Seine-Maritime, G 4263.

[70] *Magni rotuli scaccarii Normanniae sub regibus Angliae*, ed. by Stapleton, I, p. cx.

years of the thirteenth century. He appears in the records of Saint-Ouen as the beneficiary of a land sale by a certain Emma, at the time of Abbot Samson (1181–93).[71] Another charter concerning him is in the Saint-Ouen cartulary for Rouen and the Forêt-Verte.[72] Jean Fessard witnessed for Saint-Amand, Mont-aux-Malades, and Fontaine-Guérard and took part in the Rouen capitulation act in 1204 with a certain Sylvestre Fessard.[73]

Mathieu le Gros became the mayor on several occasions between 1195 and 1200. In 1198 he gave an account for the farm of the *vicomté* of Rouen, together with Raoul Groignet and Raoul de Cailly, at a time when he seems to have been frequently associated with Geoffroi le Changeur.[74] He attended the writing of the ordinance for Rouen's mills in 1199, alongside the seneschal Guillaume Fils Raoul.[75] At the time of Mayor Raoul de Cailly and alongside Abbot Geoffroi of Saint-Ouen, he was one of the witnesses of the only (undated) Jewish legal paper in Rouen written in Hebrew known to have survived.[76] It is likely that he was in possession of a piece of land in the Jewish area, like other members of the citizen elite, such as Jean de Saint-Candide.[77] As a mayor or a simple citizen (*cives*), he witnessed many donations to Rouen's religious institutions but was also himself a benefactor to them, often alongside his wife Mathilde la Grosse and their sons Amaury and Roger (for the cathedral, Saint-Ouen, Saint-Amand, Mont-aux-Malades, Saint-Georges de Boscherville, Fontaine-Guérard, and Sainte-Vaubourg's commandery, among others).[78] He was also the author, together with Mathilde, of an act that sur-

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[71] Rouen, Arch. dép. de la Seine-Maritime, 14 H 18, p. 252.

[72] Rouen, Arch. dép. de la Seine-Maritime, 14 H 18, p. 263.

[73] Rouen, Arch. dép. de la Seine-Maritime, 14 H 250; Rouen, Arch. dép. de la Seine-Maritime, 25 HP 6; Rouen, Arch. dép. de la Seine-Maritime, 80 HP 35, nos 3, 8; Paris, Arch. nat., S 5199, nos 64, 62 (called 'burgher of Rouen'); Paris, Arch. nat., S 4889 B, no. 11.

[74] *Magni rotuli scaccarii Normanniae sub regibus Angliae*, ed. by Stapleton, ii, 6, 7, xx, xliv, and *Miscellaneous Records of the Norman Exchequer, 1199–1204*, ed. by Packard, p. 73.

[75] *Cartulaire normand de Philippe-Auguste*, ed. by Delisle, no. 50.

[76] Golb, *Les Juifs de Rouen au Moyen Âge*, pp. 285–86.

[77] Golb, *Les Juifs de Rouen au Moyen Âge*, pp. 278, 281.

[78] Rouen, Arch. dép. de la Seine-Maritime, 14 H 18, pp. 487–89 and 531; Rouen, Arch. dép. de la Seine-Maritime, 55 H 250; Rouen, Arch. dép. de la Seine-Maritime, 25 HP 6; Rouen, Arch. dép. de la Seine-Maritime, 14 H 184, no. 1; Rouen, Arch. dép. de la Seine-Maritime, 20 H 5; Rouen, Arch. dép. de la Seine-Maritime, 80 HP 35, no. 4; Rouen, Arch. dép. de la Seine-Maritime, 80 HP 36, no. 6; Rouen, Arch. dép. de la Seine-Maritime, G 4368; Paris, Arch. nat., S 5199, nos 54–55, 65, 67; Paris, Arch. nat., S 4889 B, nos 11–12.

vives in the cathedral's cartulary witnessed by the well-known city patricians Clarembaud Le Roux, Nicolas de Dieppe, Jean Fessard, Raoul Groignet, and Laurent du Donjon, alongside knights such as Henri de *Hosa* and Robert de Fresquiennes.[79] As Mayor of Rouen, he is mentioned in an agreement between the Prior of Saint-Lô and the priory of Beaulieu regarding the election of a new prior in 1200.[80] Assailed by King John's requests for money loans or requisitioning, he helped to supply several castles, such as Verneuil held by Henri de Gray and Montfort held by Jean de Préaux.[81] He was also a witness of Rouen's capitulation in 1204 and continues to appear in the records until the middle of the thirteenth century.[82]

Raoul Groignet was the son of Benoît, who was a cathedral canon.[83] Raoul was in charge of the financial administration in 1198 at Mathieu le Gros's side, and he appears in the ordinance on mills of 1199 and in the Jewish legal act drawn up in Rouen.[84] He became the Mayor in 1201 and 1203 and was one of the protagonists of the 1204 capitulation with Guillaume Groignet, son of Nicolas Groignet, the same Guillaume who travelled to Jerusalem with a member of the du Chastel family.[85] Nicolas Groignet was a regular witness for the charters of Saint-Ouen, Mont-aux-Malades, and Saint-Georges de Boscherville. Guillaume Fils Goscelin sold him a property near the church of Notre-Dame de la Ronde when Lucas du Donjon was Mayor,[86] before the *pairs* of the commune and Gautier Fils Géroud, bailiff of the Count of Leicester (Robert IV de Beaumont, 1190–1204, who defended the town in 1193 against Philippe Auguste). The act was testified by a large number of the city's important people: Barthélémy Bataille, Hugues and Geoffroi sons of the *Vicomtesse*, Roger de Beaumont, Raoul de Cotevrard, Clarembaud le Roux, Geoffroi le Changeur, Anger de Castenay, Guillaume clerc, Mathieu le Gros, Raoul de Carville, and

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[79] Rouen, BM, MS Y 44, no. 241.

[80] De Glanville, *Histoire du prieuré de Saint-Lô de Rouen*, ii, 297. Beaulieu was founded by Jean de Préaux in the Préaux forest, Seine-Maritime, in 1189.

[81] *Rotuli litterarum patentium in Turri Londinensi asservati*, ed. by Hardy, p. 30.

[82] *Magni rotuli scaccarii Normanniae sub regibus Angliae*, ed. by Léchaudé-d'Anisy and Charma, ii, 6–7.

[83] Rouen, Arch. dép. de la Seine-Maritime, G 4279.

[84] See note 4 above and Golb, *Les Juifs de Rouen au Moyen Âge*, pp. 285–86.

[85] *Magni rotuli scaccarii Normanniae sub regibus Angliae*, ed. by Léchaudé-d'Anisy and Charma, pp. 6, 7.

[86] Lucas du Donjon is listed as Mayor of Rouen in 1187, 1189, 1194, and 1200.

Raoul de la Vigne.[87] Hugues Groignet appears later in the records, but it is likely that he was the last significant member of this family.[88]

Barthélémy Bataille does not seem to have become Mayor of Rouen, although he regularly appears in the contemporary sources, including the ordinance for the mills of 1199 and charters of Saint-Ouen, Saint-Georges de Boscherville, Fontaine-Guérard, and Sainte-Vaubourg, until the very early thirteenth century.[89] He had at least four sons, among whom Mathieu, Roger, and Barthélémy were the authors of a charter witnessed by the son of the *Vicomtesse*, Hugues.[90] In the pipe rolls, Barthélémy appears as a debtor, for twenty-five pounds, in the name of his other son Guillaume, who was in charge of the sale of the revenues of the forest of Vascoeuil.[91] Finally, a certain Hugues, 'filio ejus Bartholomeo Bataille', is mentioned, alongside Nicolas Groignet, in the charter of Raoul de *Sancta Sorratione* (Sainte-Croix sur Buchy, Seine-Maritime), for the priory of Saint-Lô, Rouen.[92]

Raoul de Cotevrard was the farmer of the *vicomté* of Rouen in 1195 and Mayor of Rouen in 1193 and 1201, whereas Gautier de Cotevrard, member of the same lineage, was King Richard's treasurer in Rouen in 1195.[93] Raoul witnessed the transfer of land located around the ditches of Rouen by Richard, Abbot of Saint-Ouen (1171–81), to Robert, brother of Géroud the priest.[94] He attested to a donation by Guillaume d'Estouteville to Saint-Ouen, and several documents in the archives of the abbey bear his name, regarding leases of lands in the parish of Saint-Vivien between himself, Robert le Moutardier, and his son Lambert, at the turn of the thirteenth century.[95] Together with the other

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[87] Rouen, Arch. dép. de la Seine-Maritime, 14 H 796; Paris, Arch. nat., S 5199, no. 55.

[88] Rouen, Arch. dép. de la Seine-Maritime, G 4272; Rouen, Arch. dép. de la Seine-Maritime, 80 HP 35 (donation by his widow Gentia); and Paris, Arch. nat., S 5199, no. 65, witness with Nicolas Groignet.

[89] Rouen, Arch. dép. de la Seine-Maritime, 14 H 448; Rouen, Arch. dép. de la Seine-Maritime, 14 H 796; Rouen, Arch. dép. de la Seine-Maritime, 14 H 184, nos 10, 13; Rouen, Arch. dép. de la Seine-Maritime, 80 HP 35, nos 1, 2; Paris, Arch. nat., S 5199, nos 54–56, 65.

[90] *Recueil des actes de Henri II*, ed. by Delisle and Berger, intro., pp. 214–18.

[91] *Magni rotuli scaccarii Normanniae sub regibus Angliae*, ed. by Stapleton, II, 7.

[92] De Glanville, *Histoire du prieuré de Saint-Lô de Rouen*, II, 374, no. LIV.

[93] *Magni rotuli scaccarii Normanniae sub regibus Angliae*, ed. by Stapleton, I, pp. cxvi, cxlvi, cxlix.

[94] Rouen, Arch. dép. de la Seine-Maritime, 14 H 449.

[95] Rouen, Arch. dép. de la Seine-Maritime, 14 H 342; Rouen, Arch. dép. de la Seine-Maritime, 14 H 449.

town patricians, he also witnessed acts of Mont-aux-Malades, Saint-Georges de Boscherville, Fontaine-Guérard, and Sainte-Vaubourg. The cathedral records contain an undated charter from Géroud de Cotevrard and his wife Richeude,[96] while a certain Guillaume de Cotevrard continues to appear in the sources until the middle of the thirteenth century.[97]

Besides the existence of the Jewish community in Rouen, frequently represented, alongside the citizen elite, by Raoul or Robert le Juif, we should notice the presence of a rich Arab convert, Laurent Salehadin, linked to the Templars of Sainte-Vaubourg. He may well have been in possession of properties in the parish of Saint-Éloi in the very early thirteenth century. His wife Richerid is also mentioned, as well as their son Jean and his wife Pétronille.[98] Most of the acts concerning them are attested by the leading members of the commune.

Among the most prominent lineages of the town in the second half of the twelfth century were families whose history stretched sometimes for four or five generations, providing some mayors in the thirteenth century, such as the Trentegerons or the du Chastels. However, several families seem to have disappeared quite quickly, for example the Groignets, the du Donjons, or the heirs of the *Vicomtesse* Emma, of whom we lose track after the beginning of the thirteenth century. The Cailly lineage, a regular benefactor of the abbey of Saint-Ouen and probably vassals of the Beaumonts,[99] remains one of the best examples of a continuous presence in Rouen from the eleventh century: two mayors came from this family, Raoul de Cailly, around 1198 and probably 1202, and later Guillaume de Cailly, in 1224, 1225, 1236, and 1246.

Rouen, the Dukes, and the Merchants

Rouen can be compared to Paris at the end of the twelfth century. Shortly before 1150, the town's urban area was about fifty hectares, whereas that of Paris was about forty hectares.[100] Rouen showed a considerable growth from the middle of the twelfth century onwards, resulting from ducal policies, as well

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[96] Rouen, Arch. dép. de la Seine-Maritime, G 4275.

[97] Rouen, Arch. dép. de la Seine-Maritime, 14 H 184.

[98] Paris, Arch. nat., S 5199, nos 57, 59, 60.

[99] Keats-Rohan, 'Le Rôle des élites dans la colonisation de l'Angleterre'; *Magni rotuli scaccarii Normanniae sub regibus Angliae*, ed. by Léchaudé-d'Anisy and Charma, pp. 6–7.

[100] Gauthiez, 'Paris, un Rouen capétien?'.

as from the dynamism of its inhabitants. The emergence of a powerful urban elite which was deeply involved in the duchy or kingdom's matters probably occurred prior to 1150. Its prerogatives appeared through the reaffirmation of its liberties around 1150 and through the creation, strictly speaking, of the commune, which could have been granted in the 1170s.[101] Under Henry II, Rouen's administration was mostly left to royal officers, and his reign coincided with the growing aspirations of the burgesses. As Duke of Normandy (from 1150), before his succession to the English throne in 1154, Henry confirmed the privileges of the urban dominant classes of Rouen, the shoemakers' guild, the deacon of the cathedral chapter, the Abbess of Le Pré, and various personalities in Rouen in a four-year period. Through these measures, he tried to ensure Rouen's loyalty in order to consolidate his recent power in the duchy and to take advantage of the control of this wealthy town on his way to the crown of England. Rouen was the only Norman city at that time in which real civic institutions evolved, excluding the town of Eu, in the north of the Seine-Maritime region, to which Jean, Count of Eu, granted a specific charter, in 1151, following the model of the towns of Flanders and northern Europe. The *Établissements* of Rouen, granted in the mid-twelfth century, may have served as a model for the emergence of a dominant burgess elite in other towns in Normandy, Poitou, Aquitaine, or even in London.

The thriving and cosmopolitan city of Rouen was granted some of the mechanisms of civic government around 1150, including some elective magistrates, a belfry, some civilian soldiers, and a seal with a leopard. The document granted by Henry II tells us that, under William the Conqueror, Rouen's inhabitants had already enjoyed extensive privileges.[102] Edward the Confessor had given them the harbour of Dungate near London, and William secured Rouen's trade through his laws and increased the town's liberties. The urban classes of Rouen most probably stepped out of the shadow above all thanks to trade. The Rouen commune was intentionally granted by the dukes at a time when the support of the burgesses had become essential, since they were undoubtedly powerful. Rouen as a chief city of Normandy and a hub of commercial exchange was definitely an important source of royal finance. The merchants of Rouen had proved their vitality and drawn the dukes' attention to their other activities.

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[101] Giry, *Les Établissements de Rouen*, I, 11. The creation would date from 1169: *Recueil des actes de Henri II*, ed. by Delisle and Berger, I, 40.

[102] *Recueil des actes de Henri II*, ed. by Delisle and Berger, I, no. 15; Chéruel, *Histoire de Rouen pendant l'époque communale*, I, 241.

From the eleventh century, the city was certainly a commune de facto, but not officially by right. It is unfortunately impossible to provide an exact date for its foundation, as the commune and the merchants' guild were both referred to in the twelfth century without distinction.

King Henry II granted the merchants exclusive control of the trade on the river Seine and the exemption of all taxes in England for goods coming from Normandy, except for wine and whales. Rouen had a monopoly of trade with Ireland, and the city's harbour at Dungate was confirmed. In 1174, Henry II extended these privileges by asserting that the citizens of Rouen were free from all taxes collected in the king's name, at sea as well as on land, and on both sides of the Channel.[103] Again, it was the urgent need for Rouen's fidelity that led the last dukes of Normandy to entrust the mayor and the citizen elite with the business of the *vicomté* of Rouen, according to a usual practice in England.[104] The people of Rouen seem to have retained this privilege until 1204. In addition, from the twelfth century onwards, certain rights were separated from the *vicomté* itself and transferred to particular individuals. We saw that Odoin de Malpalu received the office of *panetier* from Henry II; in 1201, King John granted Jean de Préaux an annuity of £100 to be taken from the incomes of the Rouen market and the fairs of Le Pardon and Notre-Dame du Pré. Furthermore, in 1203, King John invested Laurent du Donjon with rights over the sale of coal and wood in the town of Rouen, while Jean Luc received some incomes from the weights and measures of the *vicomté* of Rouen, and the family retained this privilege throughout the thirteenth century.[105]

At the end of Henry II's reign, an urban elite seems to have been well established and organized in Rouen, made up of one hundred *pairs* or primary patricians, from whom the mayor, twelve magistrates (*échevins*), and twelve councillors (*conseillers*) were selected. These men personified the executive power of the city and took part in all the contracts drawn up in Rouen, certifying the authenticity of the acts. In the 1170s, the mayor, who was chosen by the duke, played a significant role: most of the documents at that time bore his name, alongside those of the chancellor and the *justicier* or upholder of the law.[106] Unfortunately

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[103] Chéruel, *Histoire de Rouen pendant l'époque communale*, I, 245.

[104] Compare Pipe rolls of 1180, 1195, 1198: *Magni Rotuli Scaccarii Normaniae sub Regibus Angliae*, ed. by Stapleton, I, 1–106, 127–288; II, 289–497; *Pipe Rolls of the Exchequer of Normandy for the Reign of Henry II, 1180 and 1184*, ed. by Moss.

[105] De Beaurepaire, *De la vicomté de l'Eau de Rouen*, p. 53.

[106] Giry, *Les Établissements de Rouen*.

we have no information about the way the first selection was made: the one hundred *pairs* may have come from the membership of the 'ghilda mercatorum' mentioned in the twelfth century. These *pairs*, several of whom became mayors of Rouen, reflected a deep social heterogeneity. However, they managed the affairs of the town with a real independence.

Conclusion

The history of a ruling class in a medieval city is more that of families than of individuals. Resorting to the study of lineage is the only means to introduce continuity in a narrative that, without it, would only comprise isolated examples. However, in the absence of family names, it is generally impossible to go back any further than the beginning of the twelfth century, which gives us information for only three to four generations at the most. It is important to distinguish clearly the different milieux to which these families belonged. Some of them gravitated around abbeys such as Saint-Ouen of Rouen; sometimes they were people with backgrounds in finance and moneylending; some belonged to the edges of the nobility, were involved in the ducal and royal administration, or had attained a certain status from fortunes amassed from land revenue. Thanks to recent studies, we now have a more precise idea of their presence inside the city.[107] The first town hall brought together the merchants in the parish of Saint-Éloi, for example.[108] A financial centre existed in the heart of the town around Notre-Dame de la Ronde, the only collegial parish church with royal patronage in Rouen, and along the rue du Gros-Horloge. Most of the sources of finance could be accessed here (of Jewish or patrician origin), essential for the kings and nobles of France and England. Unfortunately we do not know for certain how this centre functioned, and its importance probably declined after Normandy was incorporated into the French kingdom in 1204.

It is essential to note the significant contribution of the financial industry and the role of the royal administration in the development of Rouen, which were without doubt more important than trade and the craft industry in the accumulation of great fortunes. Nevertheless we must be mindful of the problems of our sources. The pipe rolls, which are above all financial documents, hold a very important place for the years spanning 1180 to 1204, whereas

[107] Gauthiez, 'Paris, un Rouen capétien?', especially the maps; Six, 'De la Vicomtesse Emma et de son entourage'; Sadourny, 'Les Grandes familles rouennaises'.

[108] Rouen, BM, City Arch., drawer 417.

documents relating to trade are relatively few in number, possibly distorting our point of view by making us unaware of the real importance of commercial activities. Some of the greatest driving factors promoting social mobility before 1204 seem to have been the handling of royal funds, exchange, the money loan, and trade. Many patricians invested the income they earned through these activities in land and commerce; unfortunately, such investments are very rarely cited in our texts. One example is that of Emma the *Vicomtesse*, who bought a plot of land in the village of Saint-Wandrille and participated in the trade of herrings and salt on the Seine.

The weakness of this group, which partially disappeared in the thirteenth century, undoubtedly lay in the fact that its members were overly confident in the development of politico-financial business as authorized by the Plantagenet monarchy: they did not pay enough attention to new directions of commerce. For example, they neglected the English wool industry and also failed to foresee the future of the wine trade and the competition from Gascony (only an isolated mention tells us about Geoffroi Trentegerons's business in Flanders, for example). At the encouragement and the expansion of the market, they seem to have preferred remaining bound to the royal administration, taking advantage of the easy terms issued by the local political society, in spite of their initial dynamism. Of course, the upheaval of 1204 held back their ambitions, but their large presence as signatories and witnesses in the capitulation act proves also that they still intended to appear as major and united representatives of the city before the French King.

But these findings should be put into perspective, as they overlook many activities of Rouen society in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. The lineages blossoming through their service to the city were dynamic and omnipresent in the charters, even if they seem rather ephemeral. Indeed, the evolution of the notable family's status from the middle aristocracy to the urban patrician class, undoubtedly stimulated by the vassalage of families to religious institutions, could have been played out before the middle of the twelfth century. The years 1090–1150 were very likely characterized by an important social mobility among the urban classes that led to an official consideration by the duke.[109] In this way, Rouen was particularly precocious in the emergence of a dominant burgess elite, in comparison with other Norman cities. This transi-

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[109] The existence of a powerful urban elite can already be perceived in Conan's rebellion of 1090 at the time of the conflict dividing Robert Curthose, Duke of Normandy, and William Rufus, King of England. The uprising allows us to discern several leading families, strong enough to play an important role regarding the control of the duchy: *Chartes de l'abbaye de Jumièges*,

tion of status gradually affected a number of families, who went from having 'classical' feudal relationships to relationships based more on commercial and financial power, a combination that inevitably led to the birth of the Rouen commune.

Among the main axes of research launched by these considerations, an overall study of the considerable role played by exchange and usury in the growth of the upper bourgeoisie in the Anglo-Norman world of the twelfth century is needed. If instances of cash transactions are rare in the numerous monastic documents, and even if the pipe rolls only provide us with a few pieces of precise information, financial circulation in Rouen was undoubtedly real and intense (the recurring gold bezants, for example, evoke the connections with southern Europe). It would be particularly useful to dwell on the few mentions of Norman currency in English texts. The documentation of money is especially rare in texts relating to the English domains of the Norman abbeys, such as Saint-Ouen. However, when money is mentioned, it is never Norman. In an investigation into probable protagonists converting money between the two shores of the English Channel, we should not overlook the presence of important bankers or moneychangers in Rouen during this period, such as Gautier Marcdargent or Geoffroi le Changeur. We cannot tell at present whether there were professional bankers who set up their own businesses in order to carry out these operations or whether the abbeys called upon their wealthy vassals, for example. Moreover, the religious institutions possibly served as 'financial companies' for the enterprises of their vassals and congregants. The role of some abbeys could have resided in their financial promotion of certain families, allowing them access to the patrician class of Rouen and the royal entourage. Their vassalage would have thus involved the use of monastic funds in exchange for service rendered to the monks.

The records of the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries present Rouen as a diverse, rich, and lively town. Despite the vast holes in the documentation, we discover an enterprising society, whose expansion was actively promoted by ducal power. After 1204, Rouen lost a large part of its political power and its role as a trading and financial crossroads between England and Normandy, but its leaders remained dynamic. The rupture did not strike a fatal blow to the urban elite, who did not side with King John with any kind of conviction. Even if many families mentioned before 1204 disappeared before the middle of the

ed. by Vernier, I, no. 61; Orderic Vitalis, *The Ecclesiastical History*, ed. and trans. by Chibnall, IV, 220–25; and see other essays in this volume.

thirteenth century, some of them retained their former status or were replaced by new lineages, often already known in the earlier period. Several flourished after 1204, adapting themselves, taking advantage of the political change, and basing their success above all on trade. The activities of the Val Richer family are a good example. Philip Augustus did try to promote Paris, yet he still maintained the privileges of Rouen. The real difficulties of the city began in the reign of Philip III from 1270. The architecture of the nave of the cathedral, reconstructed in the first thirty years of the thirteenth century, reflects the position the city found itself in after 1204. It is a difficult compromise between Reims, the Capetian coronation church, and Saint-Étienne in Caen, the 'typically' Norman church erected under William the Conqueror. The citizens of Rouen might still have thought, in these years, that their city could recover its status of political 'capital'.[110]

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[110] Grant, *Architecture and Society in Normandy*; Bates, 'Rouen from 900 to 1204'.

Appendix

Chronological List of the Mayors of Rouen

Following archival references, corroborating Mollat, *Histoire de Rouen* and Chéruel, *Histoire de Rouen pendant l'époque communale*, p. 260.

> Barthélémy FERGANT, 1171, 1173, 1176, 1179, 1180
> Robert du CHASTEL, 1181
> Barthélémy FERGANT, 1182
> Jean FESSART, 1186?, 1191?
> Lucas du DONJON, 1187, 1189
> Barthélémy FERGANT, 1190?
> Durand de la PORTE-TURANDE, 1190?
> Raoul de COTEVRARD, 1193
> Lucas du DONJON, 1194
> Mathieu le GROS, 1195, 1198, 1199, 1200
> Richard BRIEGUERRE, 1198?
> Raoul de CAILLY, 1198?, 1202?
> Lucas du DONJON, 1200
> Raoul de COTEVRARD, Raoul GROIGNET, 1201
> Raoul GROIGNET, 1203
> Robert de MALPALU, 1203–04?
> Nicolas de DIEPPE, 1204
> Enard de la RIVE, Jean FESSART, 1205
> Jean LUCE, 1206
> Nicolas de DIEPPE, 1207
> Nicolas PIGACHE, 1208
> Silvestre le CHANGEUR, 1209
> Jean LUCE, 1210–11
> Odoard de SAHURS, 1212
> Jean LUCE, 1213–17
> Geoffroi TRENTEGERONS, 1218
> Nicolas PIGACHE, 1219
> Robert du CHASTEL, 1220
> Jean FESSART, 1221
> Pierre de QUEVILLY, 1222
> Raoul de BOES, 1223, 1224
> Guillaume de CAILLY, 1224, 1225, 1236, 1246

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Rouen, Archives départementales de la Seine-Maritime, 14 H 342
Rouen, Archives départementales de la Seine-Maritime, 14 H 448
Rouen, Archives départementales de la Seine-Maritime, 14 H 449
Rouen, Archives départementales de la Seine-Maritime, 14 H 714
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Rouen and the Aristocracy of Angevin Normandy

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I n the *History of William the Marshal*, the poet-biographer narrates a story
about the citizens of Rouen which is highly revealing about aristocratic
attitudes towards the Norman capital in the closing days of Angevin rule
there. In 1202, Philip Augustus of France invaded Normandy and besieged the
castle of Arques, but he withdrew to France after he learned of the capture of
his ally Arthur of Brittany by King John. The *History* tells how William Marshal
and the earls of Salisbury and Warenne shadowed the retreating French army
and then returned to Rouen, where they tricked the mayor and the citizens into
serving them a splendid meal on the pretext that the French army was close
by. The earls' joke at the expense of the obsequious and craven citizens was no
doubt intended to amuse the poem's audience, which has been identified as the
household of William Marshal's son in South Wales in the mid-1220s.[1]

[1] *History of William Marshal*, ed. by Holden, trans. by Gregory, ii, ll. 12,315–404
(=*Histoire de Guillaume le Maréchal*, ed. by Meyer, ii, ll. 12,315–404; compare iii, 167). See
the comments upon this incident in Painter, *William Marshal*, pp. 131–32. For the *History*'s
likely audience and context of its composition, see *History of William Marshal*, ed. by Holden,
trans. by Gregory, iii, 23–41, especially pp. 24–25. The poem names the mayor as Matthew le
Gros, but he no longer held this office by 1202 (Mollat, *Histoire de Rouen*, p. 427, from which
all the mayoral dates in the present article have been taken); but see below, pp. 283, n.16, 286,
287. For Matthew le Gros, see Six, 'De la Vicomtesse Emma et de son entourage', pp. 94–95.
An act in his favour from Henry, a son of Emma, *Vicomtesse* of Rouen, identifies Matthew as
Henry's *cognatus* (Paris, Arch. nat., S 5199A, no. 65). For the literary topos of burgess hospital-
ity for noble heroes, see Baldwin, *Aristocratic Life in Medieval France*, pp. 114–21.

At first sight the episode appears to encapsulate the contrasts and tensions between the medieval aristocracy and bourgeoisie, whose uneasy relationships have often been noted.[2] Gabrielle Spiegel has even argued that the rise of vernacular prose history in another region of northern France, namely Flanders, was partly an aristocratic reaction to the economic and social challenge of the burgeoning Flemish towns, at a time when revenues from lordship over land were being eroded by inflation, warfare, and the spiralling costs of noble lifestyles.[3] Bernard Gauthiez has shown that during the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries members of Rouen's patriciate built stone houses in the city that imitated aristocratic fortresses in many respects; but the commune also sometimes prevented members of the Norman aristocracy from doing the same within their city, apparently even defying Henry II's wishes in one case for a time.[4]

Aristocratic disdain for lowborn burgesses is well attested in the Anglo-Norman realm and surrounding territories, and on occasion it was translated into political action. Perhaps the most famous story demonstrating such contempt comes from Rouen itself. In 1090, a faction of citizens in Rouen rose up against Robert Curthose in support of William Rufus, but were crushed by Robert's youngest brother, the future Henry I of England. Both Orderic Vitalis and William of Malmesbury recorded the tale of the summary execution by Henry I of the rich citizen Conan, son of Gilbert Pilatus, whom Henry himself precipitated from the ducal castle tower: apart from contumacy, the condemned townsman's chief offence was arrogance inappropriate to his social origins, for Henry mocked him for presuming to covet the Duke's territories. In Orderic's account Conan's chief asset, his money, proved inadequate to save him from capital punishment, in line with conventional monastic condemnation of monetary wealth. Orderic also reports the ill treatment and imprisonment that Curthose's aristocratic supporters, including Robert de Bellême, William de Breteuil, Gilbert de l'Aigle, and their men, inflicted upon the citizens of Rouen after the rebellion.[5] The crushing of the

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[2] For example Duby, *The Three Orders*, trans. by Goldhammer, pp. 322–25.

[3] Spiegel, *Romancing the Past*, pp. 20–29, 53–54.

[4] Gauthiez, 'Les Maisons de Rouen', pp. 133–35: these houses were almost all built within the eleventh-century city wall where the commune's rights obtained. Henry II intervened because the commune had apparently prevented first Gerald Mauclerc and then Walter de Saint-Valéry from building a house on land once held by Renaud de Saint-Valéry (Gauthiez, 'Les Maisons de Rouen', pp. 140–41). For urban towers in Flanders, Normandy, and southern France, see Crouch, *The Birth of Nobility*, p. 217, and the sources cited there.

[5] Orderic Vitalis, *The Ecclesiastical History*, ed. and trans. by Chibnall, ɪᴠ, 220–26;

revolt in Rouen in 1090 was by no means the only such incident. In 1222 Hubert de Burgh, justiciar of England, and the sheriff and royal castellan Falkes de Bréauté meted out similar chastisement against a revolt of the citizens of London. One of the richest Londoners, Constantine fitzAlulf, met a fate similar to Conan Pilatus: he was executed summarily after vainly offering a vast sum of money for his life, while other citizens were mutilated.[6] Falkes, allegedly the son of a Norman knight by a concubine, and Hubert, of minor gentry origin, demonstrated their disdain for the richest citizen of London by an action of arbitrary justice that would almost certainly never have been inflicted upon a knight.[7]

Our chief sources for the deaths of both Conan Pilatus and Constantine fitzAlulf were written by Benedictine monks. Their abbeys of Saint-Évroult, Malmesbury, and Saint Albans were intimately connected to the landowning families that endowed them, furnished them with recruits, and no doubt passed on prejudices about the disparity between the great wealth and meagre lineage of burgesses. Comparable tensions existed between the cathedral chapters, which, as David Spear has demonstrated, were dominated by canons of mostly aristocratic origin,[8] and the citizens with whom they shared their cities' space. Rouen again provides one of the best examples here,[9] but such conflicts were not unusual in France, most notoriously at Laon in 1111, when the Bishop was murdered during a communal uprising, and at Chartres in 1210.[10] While we

William of Malmesbury, *Gesta regum Anglorum*, ed. and trans. by Mynors, Thomson, and Winterbottom, I, 712–14.

[6] Matthew Paris, *Chronica majora*, ed. by Luard, III, 71–73; Carpenter, *The Minority of Henry III*, pp. 290–91.

[7] For Falkes's origins, see *Histoire des ducs de Normandie*, ed. by Michel, p. 173; Power, 'Guérin de Glapion, Seneschal of Normandy', p. 155. However, *Annales monastici*, ed. by Luard, III, 78–79, describes two nephews of Constantine who were executed with him as 'noble'.

[8] Spear, 'Power, Patronage, and Personality'; Spear, *The Personnel of the Norman Cathedrals*.

[9] Chéruel, *Histoire de Rouen pendant l'époque communale*, I, 39–49, for the canons' dispute with the citizens in the early 1190s; for conflicts after 1204, especially in 1207, see 'Ex chronico Rotomagensi', p. 359; *Les Annales de l'abbaye Saint-Pierre de Jumièges*, ed. by Laporte, pp. 88–89; *Antiquus cartularius ecclesiae Baiocensis*, ed. by Bourrienne, II, no. CCCIV; *Recueil des Jugements de l'Échiquier de Normandie*, ed. by Delisle, nos 28, 226, 273, n. 2; Baldwin, 'Philip Augustus and the Norman Church', pp. 27–29.

[10] Laon: Guibert of Nogent, *Autobiographie*, ed. and trans. by Labande, pp. 316–60 (*Self and Society in Medieval France*, trans. by Benton, pp. 165–84); Orderic Vitalis, *The Ecclesiastical History*, ed. and trans. by Chibnall, VI, 90. Chartres: *Cartulaire de Notre-Dame de Chartres*, ed.

should avoid exaggerating the revolutionary significance of communal organization, it was frequently the product of conflict between townspeople and an ecclesiastical or noble lord.[11]

However, although the discourse of the superiority of aristocratic manners and blood over wealthy but lowborn townspeople is a commonplace in medieval sources, it should not be accepted uncritically. It is true that the aristocracy of medieval Western Europe north of the Alps remained predominantly rural in resources, interests, and character in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, in contrast to their Italian equivalents. It is also true that urban wealth and communal organization were often regarded with suspicion. Nevertheless, aristocratic families in Northern Europe frequently had substantial urban interests, and a landowner dwelling in even the remotest parts of France could not ignore the cities and towns of his or her province. Many families of baronial or knightly status played a far more positive role in the political, social, economic, and religious culture of their local urban centres than literary and chronicle depictions of urban society might suggest. Studies of towns such as Caen, Chartres, and Beauvais have all revealed their influence over the surrounding countryside, while knightly lineages of the towns' hinterland often had urban property or were even sometimes based primarily in the town itself.[12] Some of the close relations between the aristocracy and towns in Normandy will be considered here, with Rouen as the prime focus.

It should first be noted that numerous ties existed between the rural personnel of Norman aristocratic households and leading urban families. William de Héricourt, the seneschal of William Marshal's Norman lands, was not a knight himself, as David Crouch has pointed out, but he came from a lineage whose members appear to have been of knightly status.[13] His presumed knightly birth did not prevent Héricourt marrying the daughter of Gilbert fitzAdam, a burgess of Eu.[14] The leading burgesses of Norman towns may well have often been

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by de Lépinois and Merlet, ɪɪ, no. CCIII; *Recueil des actes de Philippe Auguste, roi de France*, ed. by Delaborde and others, ɪɪɪ, nos 1142, 1153.

[11] Stephenson, 'The French Commune and the English Borough', pp. 454–55.

[12] Jean-Marie, *Caen aux xıᵉ et xıɪᵉ siècles*, for example, pp. 244, 256–57, 274; Chédeville, *Chartres et ses campagnes*, for example, pp. 481–82; Guyotjeannin, *Episcopus et comes*, especially pp. 100–09 (urban *milites*; compare pp. 209–10 for Noyon).

[13] Crouch, *William Marshal*, p. 173. Evidence for the Héricourt family comes mainly from *Chartes du prieuré de Longueville*, ed. by Le Cacheux, especially nos LX, LXXXVII; compare Power, 'The French Interests of the Marshal Earls', pp. 208, n. 40, 212–13.

[14] *Rotuli litterarum patentium in Turri Londinensi asservati*, ed. by Hardy, p. 13.

recruited from the local aristocracy, although we can only speculate whether prominent urban families in Rouen were related to local knightly dynasties with the same surnames.[15] Certainly the seals of some of the leading Rouennais citizens suggest an aspiration to aristocratic status, such as the hawking horseman depicted on the seal of Geoffrey, son of Emma the *Vicomtesse* of Rouen; they sometimes imitated aristocratic fashions in other ways, for instance in the use of classical intaglios.[16]

Nor were cathedral clergy and townspeople as distinct from each other in origins and interests as tensions between citizens and chapters might imply. For all its aristocratic character, the chapter of Rouen included prominent canons of burgess origin such as Benedict Groignet,[17] John fitzLuke, later Bishop of Évreux,[18]

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[15] For instance, Ralph de Cottévrard, Mayor in 1201, perhaps related to *P.*, son of John de Cottévrard, a tenant of William Marshal at Cottévrard (Seine-Maritime, canton Bellencombre) (*Chartes de l'abbaye de Jumièges*, ed. by Vernier, II, no. 244); or the citizen Bartholomew Bataille to Roger Bataille, a knight from near Pacy-sur-Eure (*Abbécourt-en-Pinserais*, ed. by Depoin, nos 25, 30–31, 38). Six, 'De la Vicomtesse Emma et de son entourage', pp. 87–89, suggests that the knight Richard Comin, to whom the baron Hugh le Portier sold properties at Periers-sur-Andelle (Eure, canton Fleury-sur-Andelle) in 1206 (Rouen, Arch. dép. de la Seine-Maritime, 14 H 228), was a kinsman of the Comin family of Rouen (compare Rouen, Arch. dép. de la Seine-Maritime, 20 HP 5, act of Hawise, wife of Bernard Comin, witnessed by Richard, Geoffrey, and John Comin).

[16] Demay, *Inventaire des sceaux de la Normandie*, nos 2078 (fitzViscountess), 1710–11 (intaglio seal of Matthew Le Gros), discussed by Six, 'De la Vicomtesse Emma et de son entourage', pp. 90–91, 95.

[17] Spear, *The Personnel of the Norman Cathedrals*, p. 237; Six, 'De la Vicomtesse Emma et de son entourage', p. 95; Compare *Inventaire sommaire des Archives départementales*, ed. by de Beaurepaire and Vernier, III, 325 (Rouen, Arch. dép. de la Seine-Maritime, G 4279, act of Benedict the canon's son Ralph Groignet (1214) — perhaps the erstwhile mayor of Rouen of that name).

[18] Peltzer, *Canon Law, Careers, and Conquest*, pp. 102–05, and Spear, *The Personnel of the Norman Cathedrals*, pp. 135, 248, both of whom accept Delisle's suggestion that John fitzLuke, Bishop of Évreux (1181–92), was a kinsman of John fitzLuke, who was mayor of Rouen several times between *c.* 1206 and *c.* 1217. If so, the mayor was probably also related to Luke, Bishop of Évreux (1203–20): Spear, *The Personnel of the Norman Cathedrals*, pp. 136, 139, 143–44. It is unclear if either the two bishops or the mayor were related to the Luke fitzJohn who lost substantial lands in Devon, Surrey, and Sussex when he remained in Normandy in 1204 (although some of them reverted to his wife Eustachia de Courtenay, who stayed in England): see Moore, 'The Loss of Normandy', pp. 1077, 1079–80, 1089, 1095. This Luke may be the landowner of this name recorded at Rouen (*c.* 1220), and may have been the son of another John fitzLuke who was ducal custodian of Montfort-sur-Risle in 1180 ('Scripta de feodis ad regem spectantibus', p. 613*f*; Peltzer, *Canon Law, Careers, and Conquest*, p. 102, n. 133).

and Silvester le Changeur.[19] The most dramatic common action of the citizens and canons was their defence of the corpse of Henry the Young King against the people of Le Mans, who unsuccessfully attempted to secure it for their own cathedral when the deceased prince was being brought from the Limousin.[20] The religious institutions of Rouen most favoured by the townspeople were also often endowed by rural landowners, notably the city's hospitals and lazarhouses.[21] Other Norman towns also produced prominent churchmen: Herbert l'Abbé, whose father Ralph was arguably the most important burgess of Sées, was one of King John's candidates for the episcopal see of Sées during the contested election of 1201–03.[22]

Furthermore, an aristocratic discourse of disdain did not prevent close cooperation between burgesses and knights in the day-to-day affairs of the duchy and its towns. The mayors and leading citizens of Rouen were important agents of ducal administration in and around the city. In the reign of Henry II the Rouennais merchant Emma the *Vicomtesse* administered royal revenues both in Rouen and in Southampton,[23] and by 1179–80 the citizens were farming the ducal revenues from their city.[24] In the reigns of Richard I and King John, citizens of Rouen appear as some of the main agents of the transport of ducal treasure,[25] while Ralph l'Abbé of Sées sat alongside the abbots of Saint-Étienne

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[19] Spear, *The Personnel of the Norman Cathedrals*, p. 234; Six, 'De la Vicomtesse Emma et de son entourage', pp. 92, 97.

[20] The principal sources for this notorious incident stress the role of both the *clerus* and *populus* from each cathedral city: *Gesta regis Henrici secundi Benedicti abbatis*, ed. by Stubbs, i, 303; Thomas Agnellus, 'De morte et sepultura Henrici Regis junioris', ed. by Stevenson.

[21] See Brenner, 'Charity in Rouen in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries'. Rouen, Arch. dép. de la Seine-Maritime, 25 HP 1, the main collection of charters for Mont-aux-Malades, shows that in the reign of Henry II this lazarhouse, refounded by the king in atonement for the murder of Thomas Becket, numbered John de Hodeng, Geoffrey Troussebot, and Renaud de Pavilly amongst its patrons, while later aristocratic patrons included Richard Marshal (1223). Arnoux, 'Les Origines et le développement du mouvement canonial', pp. 142–49, argues that rising urban elites were more likely to patronize newer institutions, whether houses of regular canons (for example Saint-Lô de Rouen) or hospitals and lazarhouses (for example Mont-aux-Malades and La Madeleine de Rouen), than the larger, more venerable Benedictine abbeys.

[22] Power, *The Norman Frontier*, pp. 77–78, 135–38.

[23] For Emma, see *Recueil des actes de Henri II*, ed. by Delisle and Berger, intro., pp. 214–18, 364; Musset, 'Y eut-il une aristocratie d'affaires commune', pp. 10–12; Six, 'De la Vicomtesse Emma et de son entourage'.

[24] *Magni rotuli scaccarii Normanniae sub regibus Angliae*, ed. by Stapleton, i, 69–71 (*Pipe Rolls of the Exchequer of Normandy*, ed. by Moss, pp. 50–51).

[25] For ducal war finances and the movement of treasure, see Moss, 'The Defence of Nor-

de Caen and members of the Norman nobility as a 'Baron' of the Norman Exchequer. In the early years of Capetian rule Ralph would even be described informally as the 'justiciar' of Normandy.[26] In another positive sign of collaboration, members of the Norman aristocracy and the duchy's urban patriciates often stood surety for each other. In 1179–80 the sureties for the vast debts of Emma the *Vicomtesse* included landowners from both Upper and Lower Normandy, including Hugh de Cressy, lord of Cressy (Seine-Maritime) and Blythborough (Suffolk) and Constable of the Tower of Rouen, and Richard Giffard, Robert Marmion, Gerard de Canville, Robert Pipard, and Saher de Quency.[27] Such promises could be made only where genuine trust existed between the sureties and the person for whom they gave pledges, and so they usually drew upon very well-established relationships.[28]

Conversely, the Norman aristocracy frequently attended assizes and other assemblies at Rouen before and after 1204, at which they must have rubbed shoulders with representatives of the city's urban elites. The balance between the differing authorities in Rouen are nicely expressed in two late twelfth-century acts. *Circa* 1189 a certain Richard *de Willeuilla* sold his land at Écauville in the honour of Le Neubourg to Durand du Pin, probably when this Norman knight was *bailli* of Rouen.[29] The act was most probably performed in the presence of William fitzRalph, the ducal seneschal of Normandy, the Anglo-Norman baron Robert de Harcourt, and Luke du Donjon, Mayor of Rouen, who sealed the act with the commune's seal; the lord of the fief, Henry du Neubourg, added his seal as well. The witnesses included a number of Norman barons and knights as well as some of the most prominent citizens of Rouen.[30]

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mandy, 1193–1198'; for the role of the citizens of Rouen, see Six, 'De la Vicomtesse Emma et de son entourage', pp. 100–01.

[26] For Ralph l'Abbé, see Power, *The Norman Frontier*, pp. 77, 138; *Recueil des Jugements de l'Échiquier de Normandie*, ed. by Delisle, nos 84, 113 (n. 1), 235; Paris, Arch. nat., S 5053A, liasse 47 (acts of Ralph and his son Herbert for the Templars). Ralph was described as justiciar in a letter from a canon of Merton who was attempting to defend his priory's Norman property shortly after the Capetian annexation of Normandy: Richardson, 'A Norman Lawsuit'.

[27] *Magni rotuli scaccarii Normanniae sub regibus Angliae*, ed. by Stapleton, I, 44, 63, 83, 89 (*Pipe Rolls of the Exchequer of Normandy*, ed. by Moss, pp. 32, 45, 60, 65); Six, 'De la Vicomtesse Emma et de son entourage', p. 83.

[28] For suretyship in Angevin Normandy, see Power, *The Norman Frontier*, pp. 250–62.

[29] Durand is named as *bailli* in an act of Henry *filius Vicecomitisse*, along with the mayor Luke du Donjon, i.e. 1189–90 or 1194–95 (Paris, Arch. nat., S 5199A, no. 65): see note 1 above.

[30] Rouen, Arch. dép. de la Seine-Maritime, 14 H 796 (Écauville, canton Le Neubourg):

In this gathering, ducal, baronial, and municipal interests were each clearly represented and finely balanced. An even plainer demonstration of the relative powers within the city was demonstrated at an inquest concerning the customs of the mills at Rouen in September 1199. It was held in the hall of the ducal citadel before the Archbishop of Rouen, the seneschal of Normandy, and Mayor Matthew le Gros: the statement of the jurors was engrossed in a quadripartite chirograph, and the four pieces were retained by the archbishop, seneschal, and mayor, and by the Abbot of Saint-Ouen.[31]

It was not only in peace that the Norman towns bolstered ducal power, but also in times of war. The citizens of Rouen readily served in the garrison during war with the kings of France, notably in 1173–74, 1193–94, and 1203–04. In 1197–98, at the height of Richard I's wars against Philip Augustus, the Mayor and commune were overseeing payments from the city to King Richard's Welsh and 'Saracen' mercenaries as well as to his *routier* captain Mercadier and handling the business concerning both high- and low-status prisoners.[32] One of the many vernacular histories of the dukes of Normandy furnishes a vivid picture of the women of Rouen defending the walls of the city during the siege of the city by Louis VII in 1174.[33] Both in reality and in literature, the citizens of Rouen, men and women alike, appear vital to Plantagenet interests. The growing reliance of Henry II's successors upon tallages and loans from towns during their wars against Philip Augustus served only to increase their reliance upon

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'Hoc autem factum fuit coram Willelmo filio Radulfi tunc senescallo Normannie, et coram Roberto de Harecuria, et coram Luca de Donion tunc maiore Rothom(agensi), et sigillo Roth(omagi) communie roboratum'. Amongst the witnesses were the baron William Crispin, Geoffrey Fichet (who was seneschal of Le Neubourg), and the leading Rouennais citizens Nicholas Groignet and Bartholomew Bataille.

[31] *Layettes du Trésor des Chartes*, ed. by Teulet and others, I, no. 500, an early copy, most probably made from the seneschal of Normandy's quarter of the chirograph); another copy, made from the Abbot of Saint-Ouen's quarter in the seventeenth century, is in Rouen, Arch. dép. de la Seine-Maritime, 14 H 228, pp. 1–2. The mills had been given by Richard I to the archbishopric of Rouen in 1197 as part of the settlement surrounding the construction of Château-Gaillard.

[32] *Magni rotuli scaccarii Normanniae sub regibus Angliae*, ed. by Stapleton, II, for example, pp. 300 (Welsh), 301 (ransom of William de Mello, captured at Gisors, and expenses of Bishop of Beauvais, and 'Saracens'), 306 (ransom of captive poor French sergeants), 307 (*Makade*, that is Mercadier), and passim for payments for Norman frontier defences.

[33] Cambridge, CUL, MS Ii.6.24, fol. 99[v], ed. in Meyer, 'Notice sur le manuscrit II,6,24', p. 71: 'Les dames meïsmes de la vile portoient les pierres e boilleent l'eve e la poiz a geter sor les enemis'.

Normandy's urban elites for support: this dependence was also demonstrated in the proliferation of new communes under Richard I and especially under King John, which Suzanne Deck has ascribed primarily to the Duke's military needs.[34] Although Norman towns did sometimes desert their dukes' cause,[35] most remained loyal until the collapse of the ducal régime in 1204: in 1201–02 the burgesses of Eu attempted to support King John when their Count went into revolt.[36] In 1202 the citizens of Rouen cooperated much more actively in the Arques campaign than the *History of William the Marshal* might suggest: King John repaid £100 sterling to Matthew le Gros, who had lent the money to the King for the wages of royal knights and sergeants.[37] Finally, the defence of Rouen in 1204 vividly demonstrates the cooperation between the Norman aristocracy and the citizens of Rouen: in early May a group of local knights and citizens appear acting together in an archiepiscopal act issued there,[38] and the named oath-takers for the city's surrender in June were eight barons and knights and thirty-three burgesses.[39]

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[34] For Norman communes, see Deck, 'Formation des communes en Haute-Normandie'.

[35] For example, Pacy-sur-Eure, lost by the Earl of Leicester to Philip Augustus in 1194, the *communa villæ* of which supported the King of France against the Earl and a group of knights of Richard I in 1198: Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, ed. by Stubbs, IV, 60; Power, 'L'Aristocratie Plantagenêt face aux conflits capétiens-angevins', pp. 135–36.

[36] Power, *The Norman Frontier*, p. 426.

[37] *Rotuli litterarum patentium in Turri Londinensi asservati*, ed. by Hardy, p. 15. The letter was enacted through Earl William Marshal and dated at l'Aigle on 28 July 1202, only three days before John's capture of Arthur at Mirebeau and a week or so before the French retreat from Arques. This may explain Matthew's appearance as mayor in the *History*'s vignette concerning William Marshal's visit to Rouen with which this article began, since Matthew was not in fact the mayor of Rouen in 1202. He had held the mayoralty in 1195, 1198, and 1199, whereas Ralph de Cottévrard and Ralph Groignet are recorded as mayors in 1201 and Ralph de Cailly in 1202 (Mollat, *Histoire de Rouen*, p. 427).

[38] Paris, Arch. nat., S 5049, liasse 7: act of Walter, Archbishop of Rouen (Rouen, 4 May 1204), stating that he has received pledges from Geoffrey and Renaud *de Bosco*, Osbert de Rouvray, and Osbert Giffard (all from north-east Normandy), and William le Meunier (a prominent citizen of Rouen), amongst others, for the cash dowry of Isabella, daughter of *Eremburgis de Gauteruill'* (Vattierville, canton Neufchâtel-en-Bray?), which her father had deposited with the Hospitallers before his death in the Holy Land.

[39] *Layettes du Trésor des Chartes*, ed. by Teulet and others, I, no. 716; *Recueil des actes de Philippe Auguste, roi de France*, ed. by Delaborde and others, II, no. 803. Also present in the city were knights and burgesses from the county of Eu, and burgesses from Drincourt (Neufchâtel-en-Bray) and Aumale.

Above all, many Norman nobles and knights had material interests in the cities and towns of the duchy. The magnates' most important role in towns was as their lords. Some of the more prominent examples of lords of towns were the Count of Eu at Eu and (from *c.* 1194) Drincourt, the Count of Évreux at Évreux, the Count of Meulan at Pont-Audemer, and the Earl of Leicester at Breteuil. The activities of Norman magnates in founding *bourgs castraux* for fiscal advantage have been well documented,[40] while William Marshal's foundation of a new port at Le Pollet to rival neighbouring Dieppe demonstrates how great landowners sought to maximize the economic benefits that they derived from urban lordship.[41] Indeed, just as burgesses aspired to adopt aristocratic lifestyle and status, Anglo-Norman magnates were often immersed in commerce. The role of the counts of Meulan in the Seine wine trade as well as other mercantile activities from the early twelfth century has been traced by David Crouch.[42] By 1204 the riverine trade that formed Rouen's lifeblood included ships belonging to the Anglo-Norman magnates Robert fitzWalter (carrying wine and salt)[43] and William de Briouze.[44] After 1204, the Marshal earls retained lands in England, Wales, Ireland, and Normandy and exploited this privileged position by assisting Norman and other continental merchants to gain permission to enter England.[45]

Landowners also cultivated property in ducal towns such as Rouen.[46] Not surprisingly, both greater and lesser aristocratic families from the surrounding countryside had landed interests in the Norman capital. Amongst the magnates of Upper Normandy, the counts of Eu had substantial property in the city. In the late twelfth century Count Henry II of Eu granted the church of Saint-Nicolas in the city to the cathedral chapter of Rouen, for the souls of Henry II of England and Henry the Young King.[47] However, the counts of Eu retained

[40] For example Bauduin, 'Bourgs castraux et frontière en Normandie'.

[41] Power, 'The French Interests of the Marshal Earls', p. 206.

[42] Crouch, *The Beaumont Twins*, pp. 185–88.

[43] *Rotuli Normanniae in Turri Londinensi asservati*, ed. by Hardy, p. 78 (14 February 1203). For fitzWalter as a lord in Upper Normandy, see Power, 'Cross-Channel Communication'.

[44] *Rotuli Normanniae in Turri Londinensi asservati*, ed. by Hardy, p. 81 (Rouen, 4 March 1203), at a time when William de Briouze was frequently in King John's entourage at Rouen and a leading defender of Normandy; Powicke, *The Loss of Normandy*, pp. 319–22.

[45] Power, 'The French Interests of the Marshal Earls', pp. 218, 220–21.

[46] For a discussion, see Gauthiez, 'Paris, un Rouen capétien?', pp. 123–25.

[47] Rouen, Arch. dép. de la Seine-Maritime, G 4505. Saint-Nicolas, to the north-east of the cathedral, was demolished in the nineteenth century.

land in the city, which Count Henry's daughter and heiress Countess Alice (d. 1246) handed over to her son Ralph II de Lusignan in her own lifetime, a gift that led Ralph into a dispute with the city's mayor in 1237.[48] In addition to their large estates north and west of Rouen in the Pays de Caux, the Marshal earls of Pembroke had property in the Roumois and rights over houses in the city itself.[49] Another Anglo-Norman magnate active in the city was William de Mandeville, Earl of Essex, constable of the ducal castles in the Norman Vexin and *jure uxoris* Count of Aumale, who bought houses in Rouen and later gave them in alms to the Knights Hospitaller.[50] The Tancarville chamberlains of Normandy also had property on the edge of the city,[51] while the earls of Leicester, as lords of the honour of Breteuil, had very substantial holdings in and around the city, as we shall see.[52]

These were some of the greatest magnates in Upper Normandy, but lesser barons from the region also had rights in the city and its suburbs. *Circa* 1170 a minor baron from the Franco-Norman marcher regions, John de Hodeng, acquired land worth 13 *liv. ang.* in the parish of Saint-Gervais at Rouen as the dowry of his wife Alice de Préaux, whose brothers John and Peter de Préaux would play a crucial role — on opposite sides — in the city's surrender to the French in 1204. John de Hodeng later granted the property to the abbey of Beaubec and the hospitals of Mont-aux-Malades and La Madeleine, compensating his wife with a share of his inheritance at Méru in the French county of Beaumont-sur-Oise.[53] Meanwhile, the Préaux family retained and contin-

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[48] *Recueil des Jugements de l'Échiquier de Normandie*, ed. by Delisle, no. 626. The mayor in 1237 was apparently either William de Cailly or Nicaise de Carville. An inquest of unknown date, copied into Register *C* of Philip Augustus (*c.* 1220), records the land that the counts of Eu had formerly held at Saint-Hilaire, east of the city walls, as well as houses in the city itself ('Scripta de feodis ad regem spectantibus', p. 718*h*).

[49] *The Royal Domain in the Bailliage of Rouen*, ed. by Strayer, pp. 35–37. Rouen, Arch. dép. de la Seine-Maritime, 25 HP 1, dossier SS: Richard Marshal confirms his man Robert *Lavenier*'s sale of his house before the market-square of Rouen Cathedral (*coram atrio Nostre Domine*) to Mont-aux-Malades, and he remits the pair of gauntlets which he was to be paid annually for this house (Rouen, 1223).

[50] *Recueil des actes de Philippe Auguste, roi de France*, ed. by Delaborde and others, III, no. 1056. For Earl William de Mandeville, see Keefe, *Feudal Assessments and the Political Community*, pp. 112–15; Power, *The Norman Frontier*, pp. 50, 75, 213, nn. 65, 284–85, 408, 484.

[51] *Layettes du Trésor des Chartes*, ed. by Teulet and others, I, no. 500: *area* near the Porte Saint-Ouen.

[52] Below, pp. 294–99.

[53] Rouen, Arch. dép. de la Seine-Maritime, 25 HP 1, dossiers SS (act of Alice, daughter of

ued to acquire lands in the city.[54] In the early thirteenth century the lord of
Gerponville near Valmont appears to have acquired property at Rouen from
his mother's family.[55] Other local knights with property in Rouen included
Henry de Longchamps, from one of the leading families of the Pays de Bray and
Norman Vexin, and Richard de Villequier, *vicomte* of Caux.[56]

It was not only landowners from Upper Normandy who had material inter-
ests in Rouen, however. It suited many of the magnates from other parts of the
Anglo-Norman realm to keep property there. Henry II gave land in the city to
one of his justiciars of Normandy, Renaud, lord of Saint-Valéry-sur-Somme in
Ponthieu, and later the same land came to his sons Bernard and Walter de Saint-

Osbert de Préaux (Seine-Maritime, canton Darnétal), widow of John de Hodeng, *c.* 1200), and
SSS (act of John de Hodeng, second half of twelfth century); *Layettes du Trésor des Chartes*, ed.
by Teulet and others, ɪ, no. 716; *Rotuli chartarum in Turri Londinensi asservati*, ed. by Hardy,
pp. 70–71. For Alice's five brothers, see *History of William Marshal*, ed. by Holden, trans. by
Gregory, ɪ (*Histoire de Guillaume le Maréchal*, ed. by Meyer, ɪ), ll. 4662–74; for John de Hodeng
and his son Giles, who took their name from Hodeng-Hodenger (Seine-Maritime, canton
Argueil), see Power, *The Norman Frontier*, pp. 191, 237, 427–28, and the sources there cited. In
1204 John de Préaux, who had already joined Philip Augustus, helped to arrange the surrender
of Norman castles to the King of France, but he also gave his younger son William as a hostage
for Peter de Préaux, then commander of Rouen, at the city's surrender; and Alice's son John de
Hodeng was one of the nephews of Peter de Préaux whom Philip Augustus rewarded after the
surrender of Rouen in 1204 (*Recueil des actes de Philippe Auguste, roi de France*, ed. by Delaborde
and others, ɪɪ, nos 803, 814; *Layettes du Trésor des Chartes*, ed. by Teulet and others, ɪ, no. 716;
Rotuli litterarum patentium in Turri Londinensi asservati, ed. by Hardy, p. 43). It was probably
Alice's son John who succeeded to his brother Morel de Hodeng's escheats in 1248 ('Scripta de
feodis ad regem spectantibus', p. 679*c*; compare, pp. 638*m*–639*a*, 675*c*).

[54] For example, *Rotuli chartarum in Turri Londinensi asservati*, ed. by Hardy, p. 33: grant
of 100 *liv. ang.* from the market stalls and fairs of Rouen to Peter de Préaux (1200).

[55] *Recueil des Jugements de l'Échiquier de Normandie*, ed. by Delisle, no. 461: the prop-
erty of the 'heirs of Gerponville' held of the duke includes land and a *masura* in Rouen, from
which their father's maternal aunts had once been provided with dowries (1230). For the lord
of Gerponville (Seine-Maritime, canton Valmont), see 'Polyptychum Rotomagensis dioecesis',
pp. 289*h*, 290*f*; 'Hominum ad exercitum Fuxensem vocaturum index primus': 'Polyptychum
Rotomagensis dioecesis', p. 245*e*.

[56] *Inventaire sommaire des Archives départementales*, ed. by de Beaurepaire and Vernier,
ᴠ, 263 (Rouen, Arch. dép. de la Seine-Maritime, G 6872: fief of Henry de Longchamps,
c. 1201–03); ɪɪɪ, 325–26 (Rouen, Arch. dép. de la Seine-Maritime, G 4280: house of Richard
de Villequier, knight, in the Rue Saint-Denis, soon after 1204). For Richard de Villequier, see
Power, 'L'Établissement du régime capétien en Normandie', p. 329; for the likely identification
of this Henry de Longchamps, see Conway, 'The Family of William Longchamp', p. 22.

Valéry, Archdeacon of Rouen, who built new houses on the site.[57] Walkelin, lord of Ferrières-Saint-Hilaire, had land within the old walls of Rouen which fell under the jurisdiction of the canons of Saint-Lô de Rouen.[58] The Franco-Norman baron Simon d'Anet (d. *c.* 1192), whose main estates lay far off along the Norman frontier around Ivry and Bréval, also had a fief in the city, which probably acted as a convenient staging post between his border castles and his modest English possessions.[59] Leading English magnates and clergy with land or houses in the city included the archbishops of York,[60] the abbots of Bury St Edmunds,[61] and Henry de Châtillon, Archdeacon of Canterbury.[62] The comprehensive research of Bernard Gauthiez, identifying some 1500 residents of Rouen in the Angevin and early Capetian periods, has shown how these dif-

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[57] Above, p. 280, n. 4; *Recueil des actes de Henri II*, ed. by Delisle and Berger, intro., p. 358; Spear, *The Personnel of the Norman Cathedrals*, p. 216, who wrongly links Walter to Saint-Valéry-en-Caux. Tabbagh, *Diocèse de Rouen*, p. 177 (no. 4285), mistakenly makes Walter a son of a certain Remigius and nephew of an unidentified mayor of Rouen.

[58] De Glanville, *Histoire du prieuré de Saint-Lô de Rouen*, II, 376–77, no. LIV: Walkelin sells to the canons 'terram meam que adheret curie eorumdem canonicorum infra veteres muros Rothom' (*c.* 1160 × 1201).

[59] *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Notre-Dame de Vaux-de-Cernay*, ed. by Merlet and Moutié, II, no. CXXVII. For Simon II d'Anet, see Power, *The Norman Frontier*, *passim*; for his land at Docking (Norfolk), see *The Great Roll of the Pipe for the Thirty-Fourth Year of the Reign of Henry II*, p. 66; *The Great Roll of the Pipe for the Second Year of the Reign of Richard I*, ed. by Stenton, p. 7.

[60] *English Episcopal Acta 20*, ed. by Lovatt, no. 87: Roger (de Pont-l'Évêque), Archbishop of York, confirms a sale in his fief in the rue Saint-Denis at Rouen (near the Robec stream (*Rodobeccam*), not the rue du Bac as the edition suggests). For this sale (*c.* 1171?), see also *Inventaire sommaire des Archives départementales*, ed. by de Beaurepaire and Vernier, III, 325 (Rouen, Arch. dép. de la Seine-Maritime, G 4272). The next archbishop, Geoffrey Plantagenet, had been an Archdeacon of Rouen (Spear, *The Personnel of the Norman Cathedrals*, p. 216). See *Magni rotuli scaccarii Normanniae sub regibus Angliae*, ed. by Stapleton, II, 549, for land formerly belonging to an Archbishop of York 'in Valle Fenilli' in the Roumois (1197–98). For English landowners in Rouen, see Gauthiez, 'Paris, un Rouen capétien?', pp. 123–27, although some of those whom he classifies as 'English' were in fact important landowners in Normandy as well.

[61] Bates, 'Rouen from 900 to 1204', p. 6.

[62] *Recueil des actes de Philippe Auguste, roi de France*, ed. by Delaborde and others, IV, no. 1593 (held from William de la Mare, a prominent official in Normandy under Henry II); Gauthiez, 'Les Maisons de Rouen', pp. 139–40; John le Neve, *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae 1066–1300*, ed. Greenway, Barrow, and Pearson, II, 14. By contrast, at the death of Richard the Lionheart the Archbishop of Canterbury was allegedly lodging at the priory of Notre-Dame du Pré, on the left bank of the Seine, rather than Rouen itself.

ferent groups clustered in certain quarters of the city: the higher clergy in the parishes around the cathedral, especially Saint-Denis; the leading citizens in the riverine parishes, notably Saint-Éloi.[63]

The Angevin rulers of Normandy made good use of the city's revenues and offices to reward their aristocratic supporters. In 1202, King John conferred an annual payment of 300 *liv. ang.* from the *prévôté* of Rouen upon his loyal knight Renaud *de Bosco*, one of the lords of the Cailly-Baudemont inheritance that lay east of the city, and which by then was partly in French hands. Renaud was one of the leaders of the Rouen garrison in 1204.[64] Some duties in the city were held by burgesses, notably the *vicomté de l'eau*, from which the remarkable Emma the *Vicomtesse* derived her title; but others were held by members of the lesser aristocracy. *Circa* 1220 a certain W. de Beauchamp, possibly a relative of one of the prominent Anglo-Norman families of that name, was holding his land in the city from the King of France in return for the service of holding the pleas of Rouen three times a year, along with various other sergeanty duties.[65] The description of another sergeanty at Rouen under the Angevins, the sergeanty of the brothels, is probably spurious, but this mention in the reign of Philip Augustus suggests that some sort of regulation of prostitution under a royal sergeant was in place by the early thirteenth century.[66] Other feudalized services at Rouen included the fief of the mint, the fief of the Porte-Saint-Gilles, and unspecified services that the knight William *de Rabes* was to perform for the king when he came to Rouen.[67] For the land he held in sergeanty, Henry Vaspail was required to guard one of the gates of the ducal castle for sixpence a day

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[63] Gauthiez, 'Paris, un Rouen capétien?', pp. 123–27.

[64] *Rotuli litterarum patentium in Turri Londinensi asservati*, ed. by Hardy, p. 15; Powicke, *The Loss of Normandy*, pp. 335–36; and Power, *The Norman Frontier*, p. 486 (see pp. 426–27, 491, 537, for his brother Geoffrey); *Layettes du Trésor des Chartes*, ed. by Teulet and others, I, no. 716.

[65] 'Scripta de feodis ad regem spectantibus', p. 614*d*: he was also required to capture thieves and to seize distrained goods (*nengmia deforciata*) by summons of the king's *famulus*.

[66] Power, 'Henry, Duke of the Normans', p. 109.

[67] 'Scripta de feodis ad regem spectantibus', p. 616*c* (lands held *de feodo monetæ* at Varengueville and *Aprevilla*); p. 616*d*: 'Guillelmus li porteirs de Sancto Ægidio tenet portum Sancti Ægidii et unum masnagium per sergenteriam, unde debet passare servientes regis et pauperes gentes. Dominus Willelmus de Rabes tenet de rege boscum de Baquemont usque ad viginti quinque acras, unde debet servire in domo regis quando venit Rothomagum'. *Recueil des actes de Henri II*, ed. by Delisle and Berger, II, no. 705, contains interesting details for a sergeant of the ducal household at Rouen, but appears to have been interpolated; see Haskins, *Norman Institutions*, pp. 117–18.

from the *vicomté* as well as payments in kind when the king stayed at Rouen.[68] The origins of these services are lost to us: ducal officials were already receiving regular payments from *vicomtés* in the reign of William the Conqueror and sergeanties were appearing under Henry I, but some of the duties may reflect the growing sophistication of both the city and the ducal administration under Henry II.[69] What is clear is that a number of the minor landowners from the surrounding district were integrated into the administration of the city and of the ducal household there.

Rouen filled another important function for the aristocracy of the duchy: as a source of credit, especially from its large and thriving Jewish community.[70] Although the Rouennais Jews suffered on occasion from persecution by both Norman nobles and the citizens of Rouen, most notably the massacre of 1096 in which the Count of Eu was embroiled,[71] Jewish moneylenders also frequently provided impecunious Norman landowners with loans, as the Norman Exchequer rolls attest.[72] In 1202 one of them, Samuel ben Abraham, remitted all the debts and pledges that had been incurred by Jordan Taisson

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[68] 'Scripta de feodis ad regem spectantibus', p. 613*e*: 'Henricus Waspal tenet terram suam per sergenteriam, et debet servare portam dou belle castelli Rothomagi per liberationem sex denariorum in vicecomitatu unaquaque die, et quando rex jacebit Rothomagi debet habere unum sextarium de vino et quatuor panes et quatuor exenia de coquina, quæ omnia movent de ducatu'. A Henry Vaspail appears in litigation in Rouen in or before 1180: *Magni rotuli scaccarii Normanniae sub regibus Angliae*, ed. by Stapleton, I, 78 (*Pipe Rolls of the Exchequer of Normandy*, ed. by Moss, p. 57); compare *Magni rotuli scaccarii Normanniae sub regibus Angliae*, ed. by Stapleton, II, 418. Henry *Waspal* was one of the last witnesses to Hugh le Portier's act in 1206 (above, note 15).

[69] Haskins, *Norman Institutions*, pp. 42, 116–19, 181–82 (arguing that the enfeoffment of offices was a sign of early origin).

[70] See in general Golb, *Les Juifs de Rouen au Moyen Âge* and Golb, *The Jews in Medieval Normandy*, pp. 137–69, 208–377.

[71] Guibert of Nogent, *Autobiographie*, ed. and trans. by Labande, pp. 246–50 (*Self and Society in Medieval France*, trans. by Benton, pp. 134–36); 'Ex chronico Rotomagensi', 784*b*.

[72] Golb, *The Jews in Medieval Normandy*, pp. 361–32, following *Magni rotuli scaccarii Normanniae sub regibus Angliae*, ed. by Stapleton, I, 168, which lists debts owed by Count Robert of Meulan, Robert Guernon, the heirs of Osbert de Préaux, William d'Étouteville, Richard de Vernon, William de Bouvaincourt, William de Trubleville, and Thomas de Briançon (1194–95). The debts recur uncollected in 1197–98 and 1202–03 (*Magni rotuli scaccarii Normanniae sub regibus Angliae*, ed. by Stapleton, II, 419, 550). Golb fails to realize that all were local landowners: the Count of Meulan's substantial Norman lands near Rouen included Elbeuf-sur-Seine and the forest of Brotonne, and Osbert de Préaux was not a native of Touraine (*pace* Golb).

(d. 1178), one of the chief magnates of central Normandy, and his wife Leticia de Saint-Sauveur, the most prominent noblewoman in the Cotentin in the reign of Henry II: Ralph Taisson, son of Jordan and Leticia, who was then seneschal of Normandy,[73] was freed of all debts up to Michaelmas 1202. The act was performed in the presence of Ralph de Cailly, Mayor of Rouen, and sealed with the commune's seal, and the witnesses were representatives of the city's clerical and mercantile elite as well as ducal officials, including a dedicated *bailli* of the Jews.[74]

The city of Rouen therefore mattered to the Anglo-Norman nobles and knights in a range of ways: as a place for residing, for holding property and office, for engaging in commerce, and for finding credit. Of all the great landowners of Normandy, possibly the most important in Rouen were the earls of Leicester. In 1193 Robert IV, last of the Breteuil earls of Leicester and a hero of the Third Crusade, commanded the garrison against the first siege of Philip Augustus; Roger of Howden describes how the Earl opened the city gates and challenged the King of France to attempt to enter, provoking Philip to retreat in recognition of his inability to take the Norman capital.[75] As a faithful subject of the imprisoned King Richard I, Earl Robert had good reasons to defend the city against the French; but he also had much property and numerous rights to protect in and around the city. His honour of Breteuil included substantial estates to the north-west and east of Rouen, in the Pays de Caux and the Norman Vexin respectively; and within the city and *banlieue* of Rouen itself the Earl had a fief that was valued at over 40 *livres tournois* per annum when Philip Augustus granted it to the citizens in 1220.[76] Part, perhaps most,

[73] *Magni rotuli scaccarii Normanniae sub regibus Angliae*, ed. by Léchaudé-d'Anisy and Charma, I, 203; Golb, *The Jews in Medieval Normandy*, pp. 361–62, 374–77, and fig. 55 (Saint-Lô, Bibliothèque municipale, destroyed in 1944). For Samuel ben Abraham, see *Magni rotuli scaccarii Normanniae sub regibus Angliae*, ed. by Stapleton, I, 168; II, 419, 550.

[74] The act is witnessed by Geoffrey, Abbot of Saint-Ouen; Stephen de Longchamp, lord of half the Cailly-Baudemont inheritance and possibly castellan of Rouen in 1202; the former mayor Matthew le Gros, and the future mayors Ralph Groignet and John (fitz)Luke; and William Baudry, then ducal *bailli* of the Jews.

[75] Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, ed. by Stubbs, III, 205, 207; see pp. 253–54 for his defence of the city again in 1194, and his subsequent capture.

[76] *Recueil des actes de Philippe Auguste, roi de France*, ed. by Delaborde and others, IV, no. 1684. The citizens received the fief up to the value of 40 *li. p.a.*, *usualis monete apud Rothomagum* — most probably the money of Tours, which had replaced the money of Angers in Normandy in 1204. *The Royal Domain in the Bailliage of Rouen*, ed. by Strayer, p. 33, records the same value

of the Leicester fief lay in the parish of Notre-Dame de la Ronde near the modern Palais de Justice, close to the Jewish quarter.[77] Adolphe Chéruel suggested that the Leicester fief included the site of the later *hôtel de ville* and *beffroi*,[78] while the late medieval name for the rue aux Ours or rue des Vergetiers was apparently the 'rue de Lincestre'.[79] The earl also appears as active in the city in other ways.[80]

Around 1220 a feodary of Philip Augustus recorded: 'William du Vivier holds the cordwainers' quarter (*corveseriam*) in Rouen, of the fief of Breteuil, for which he ought to come to Rouen to assist and to hold the pleas from that fief'.[81] The earls therefore had lordship over an industry which formed a vener-

c. 1265, by which time it was linked to an annual payment of 20 *li.* to the king for fuller's earth; compare *Cartulaire normand de Philippe-Auguste*, ed. by Delisle, no. 647, p. 126, which shows that in 1259 the commune also had a separate 5 *li.* of revenues from the Leicester fief.

[77] Golb, *The Jews in Medieval Normandy*, pp. 155–57, 167 (Map 14), 369–70. This church has now been demolished.

[78] Chéruel, *Histoire de Rouen pendant l'époque communale*, I, 263, n. 1. Compare Cerné, *Les Anciens Hôtels de la ville de Rouen*, pp. 8–9, 15, 19–24.

[79] Periaux, *Dictionnaire indicateur et historique des rues et places de Rouen*, pp. 646–48 (rue des Vergetiers); compare Crouch, *The Beaumont Twins*, pp. 179–80. It is worth quoting Periaux in full: 'À partir du 13ᵉ siècle, il est aussi parlé d'une rue du Comte-de-Lincestre ou de Vincestre, puis d'une rue de Lincestre, de Vincestre ou Vuicestre, et même Buicestre; ces variantes, qui se rapportent à un même nom, doivent provenir de l'héritage "qui fut au comte de Lincester (ou Leicester), assis en la paroisse de Notre-Dame-de-la-Ronde, à la porte Machacre", dont il est fait mention dans nos archives municipales: fief concédé en 1220 aux bourgeois de Rouen par une charte de Philippe-Auguste, et sur lequel fut établi l'ancien hôtel-de-ville. Cet héritage, qui s'étendait jusqu'au ruissel de la Renelle, aura donné son nom à la rue Massacre, confondue alors avec celle des Vergetiers. Cette dernière rue paraît avoir conservé la dénomination de rue de Vincestre ou de Vyncestre, même alors qu'elle était aussi désignée sous celles de rue du Port, du Porc ou du Porche'. Chéruel, *Histoire de Rouen pendant l'époque communale*, I, 263, n. 1, gives the reference for the text as Rouen, AM, A 38, fol. 83ʳ⁻ᵛ. The confusion of Leicester and Winchester may be merely linguistic, but after Earl Robert IV's death, King John promoted his co-heir, Saher de Quency, to the earldom of Winchester; and the other co-heir, Simon de Montfort, the titular Earl of Leicester, was mistakenly called 'Earl of Winchester' in narrative sources on occasion (for example, *La Chanson de la croisade albigeoise*, ed. and trans. by Martin-Chabot, I, 86 (laisse 35, ll. 8–9)).

[80] For example, *Magni rotuli scaccarii Normanniae sub regibus Angliae*, ed. by Stapleton, II, 306: the accounts of Rouen (1197–98) include a debt of Osbert the Chamberlain of one mark of silver to have his right against the Earl of Leicester, presumably over city property.

[81] 'Scripta de feodis ad regem spectantibus', p. 613*lm*: 'Willelmus del Vivier tenet corveseriam in Rothomago, de feodo de Britolio, quapropter venire debet Rothomagum ad adjuvandum et ad tenendum placita de illo feodo'. For the cordwainers' guild, attested from the reign of

able and important part of the Rouen economy, with substantial judicial pow-
ers within the city. The nature of these powers is nicely demonstrated in a pair
of deeds relating to the property of Earl Robert III of Leicester in the city in
1189–90, on the eve of the Earl's departure on the Third Crusade, which are
preserved amongst the muniments of the Templar priory of Sainte-Vaubourg
outside the city, although both are in fact acts between lay parties.

In one of the two acts, Earl Robert confirmed a purchase by Nicholas
Groignet,[82] a prominent citizen of Rouen, of the land and house of William
fitzGoscelin in the Earl's fief, near Notre-Dame de la Ronde. The Earl's act stated
that the sale had been performed in Rouen before the Mayor of Rouen, Luke du
Donjon, with the consent of the vendor's sister, and that he exempted the sold
land from all services, customs, tallages, aids, and legal actions except for the
customary render of one hundred Saint-Rieul pears.[83] Amongst the witnesses
were the Earl's sons William (who predeceased his father) and Robert (IV),
the future earl and defender of Rouen just a few years later, with leading men
of the Earl's entourage such as Anketil Mallory, Arnulf de Tourville, and the
Earl's bailiff in Rouen, Walter fitzGerold.[84] The act also recorded prominent
citizens of Rouen amongst its witnesses, including Geoffrey and Hugh the sons
of (Emma) the *Vicomtesse*, Geoffrey du Val-Richer, Ralph de Cottévrard, and
Bartholomew Bataille.[85] The second surviving deed is William fitzGoscelin's
own act recording this sale, which reveals more about the Earl's powers and
property rights in Rouen and about the role of the citizens in overseeing the

Henry I, see Haskins, *Norman Institutions*, pp. 126, 134, 144, 318.

[82] Throughout this article I have opted for the more common medieval rather than the
modern spelling of this name, presumably derived from Old French *groigner* (modern French
grogner), 'to growl or grumble'.

[83] For *poires de Saint-Rieul* or *Saint-Riule*, see Delisle, *Études sur la condition*, pp. 501–03.
Delisle cites numerous examples of such renders (including the Earl of Leicester's charter dis-
cussed here) which show that one hundred St Regulus pears were a standard render at Rouen
by 1200. He describes the St Regulus variety as 'une petite poire dure, et servant à faire des
compotes'. It was frequently mentioned in medieval French texts, including as a metaphor for
high value or status: see *Le Roman de la Poire par Tibaut*, ed. by Marchello-Nizia, pp. 19–20
(ll. 404–08), 134 (and sources cited there); Butterfield, '*Enté*', p. 72.

[84] For the families of Mallory and Tourville in the honours of Leicester, see Crouch,
The Beaumont Twins, pp. 142, 157, 175. Anketil Mallory, one of the stewards of the Leicester
earls, had defended the town of Leicester against Henry II in 1173–74, when both he and Earl
Robert III joined the Young King's revolt (*Gesta regis Henrici secundi Benedicti abbatis*, ed. by
Stubbs, I, 68, 73).

[85] See no. 2 in the Appendix.

contract. It states that the sale was made 'in the full commune' at Rouen, before not only Luke du Donjon, the Mayor, but also the 'peers of the commune'; the presiding officials of the Earl of Leicester included his sergeant Roger fitzGerard as well as Walter fitzGerold the *bailli*. The witness-list included many of the same citizens of Rouen.[86]

The acts concerning William fitzGoscelin's sale to Nicholas Groignet reveal the nature of the Earl of Leicester's authority within Rouen. His fief comprised a central portion of the city, yet he had his own bailiff and sergeant to administer it, and they exercised his jurisdictional powers over the householders in it, whose peppercorn rents might included the prized pears of Saint-Rieul, a common form of payment in the city. The sale was performed before the communal authorities, but the Earl's rights were evidently very substantial and hedged around by his visible judicial authority. Even within the ducal capital and the quarters under the jurisdiction of the commune, one of the main lords of the Anglo-Norman realm had his own judicial power that required a separate administration, although it worked in concert with the city authorities. Both the commune and the Earl appeared keen to safeguard their rights against encroachment from each other.

The Angevin dynasty held Rouen dear. Geoffrey of Anjou and Empress Matilda restored the ducal donjon and stone bridge.[87] Henry II spent much of his time either in the city or at the complex of royal residences which he constructed on the left bank of the Seine at Petit-Quevilly.[88] Henry the Young King begged to be buried within its cathedral, and the citizens and canons literally fought to ensure that his body was brought to Rouen in the face of fierce opposition from the people of Le Mans.[89] The Young King's brother Richard

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[86] See no. 1 in the Appendix. This group of charters also included an act of Henry *filius vicecomitisse* (son of Emma the *Vicomtesse*), performed before Durand du Pin, the king's *bailli*, and Luke du Donjon the mayor (i.e. 1189–90), witnessed by Hugh Groignet as well as other prominent citizens, and sealed with one of the earliest extant examples of the commune's lion seal (reproduced on the front cover of Vincent, *Records, Administration, and Aristocratic Society*). For the seal, see Vincent's comments on the back cover of the same work, and Chéruel, *Histoire de Rouen pendant l'époque communale*, I, 333–34. Another early exemplar of the communal seal is Rouen, Arch. dép. de la Seine-Maritime, 25 HP 1, dossier SS, act of Robert, Prior of Mont-aux-Malades, sealed by Ralph de Cottévrard as mayor (probably 1193–94 or 1201–02).

[87] Haskins, *Norman Institutions*, pp. 143–44.

[88] Vincent, 'Les Normands de l'entourage d'Henri II Plantagenêt', pp. 79–81; Stratford, 'The Wall-Paintings of the Petit-Quevilly'.

[89] Above, p. 284.

the Lionheart regarded the city with special affection, and John Gillingham has highlighted how a citizen of London — possibly one with Rouen connections — commemorated Richard I's heart, as if its burial in Rouen Cathedral would defend both Rouen and Normandy against the French.[90] King John continued Richard's policy of treating the Seine valley from Rouen to Les Andelys as the unofficial capital of the Angevin Empire,[91] which underlines the depth of his failure to relieve the besieged city in 1204. The present study has shown that not just the ruler, but also many members of the Anglo-Norman aristocracy, both great and humble, had strong ties with the Norman capital. In the case of the earls of Leicester, this even extended to an established administration. Whatever the ecclesiastical discourses or literary topoi that disparaged the prosperous burgesses of Normandy, the relations between the confident commune of Rouen and the Anglo-Norman aristocracy appear both warm and strong.

When Philip Augustus captured Rouen in 1204, the city lost its position as the heart of a great duchy and was reduced to the status of a regional centre — a town, moreover, that was regarded with suspicion by its new ruler. According to the Annals of Jumièges, in 1207 King Philip even led an army to Rouen and extorted a great sum of money and valuables from the citizens, and there was certainly discontent in the city at this time.[92] How did the Capetian conquest affect the relations between Rouen and the Norman aristocracy? King John's defeat removed some landowners with property in Rouen, including the heirs of William de Mandeville and (by 1207) Peter de Préaux.[93] Earl Robert of Leicester negotiated a respite for his Norman lands in May 1204 but died the following October, when his continental possessions passed into the hands of the King of France. The king gave only modest recognition to the claims of the Earl's sisters and their heirs.[94] As we have seen, the ultimate beneficiary

[90] Gillingham, 'Stupor mundi'.

[91] Gillingham, *The Angevin Empire*, p. 75; compare Bates, 'Rouen from 900 to 1204', p. 5.

[92] *Les Annales de l'abbaye Saint-Pierre de Jumièges*, ed. by Laporte, pp. 88–89 ('multam pecuniam et multa donaria'). For troubles in Rouen in 1207, see the references cited in note 9 above.

[93] For the claims of William de Mandeville's heirs to his Norman lands, see *Curia Regis Rolls*, VII, 110–11. For the tergiversations of Peter de Préaux between 1204 and 1207, see Powicke, *The Loss of Normandy*, pp. 263, 350.

[94] For the earls' respite, see *History of William Marshal*, ed. by Holden, trans. by Gregory, II (*Histoire de Guillaume le Maréchal*, ed. by Meyer, II), ll. 12,853–904; 'Ex chronico Lyrensi cœnobii', p. 352. Philip made a very advantageous exchange of the Leicester lands in Normandy with Amice, the elder of the Earl's sisters, and her son Simon de Montfort, in return for the

of the disappearance of the Leicesters was the city commune itself: the Earl's rival administration presumably crumbled with his death, and Philip Augustus eventually conferred the Earl's fief at Rouen upon the citizens.[95] Despite these upsets, the vast majority of aristocratic landowners with property in Rouen were probably left in peaceful possession of their property after 1204, and their relationship with the citizens may have been largely unaffected. Careful study of the vast unpublished muniments from the city's religious houses may reveal much more about the role of the thirteenth-century Norman aristocracy in the city; they certainly continued to gather there for assizes and (from 1220) for sessions of the Exchequer.[96] Rouen may no longer have been the quasi-capital of an Angevin 'Empire', but it remained the heart of the duchy for the political community of Normandy.

Capetian domains in the forest of Yvelines (*Layettes du Trésor des Chartes*, ed. by Teulet and others, I, nos 738, 815).

[95] Above, p. 294.

[96] Capetian assizes at Rouen include the following: Rouen, Arch. dép. de la Seine-Maritime, 9 H 4, p. 214, no. 368 (January 1207, n.s.); Rouen, Arch. dép. de la Seine-Maritime, 9 H 4, pp. 248–49, no. 441, and Rouen, Arch. dép. de la Seine-Maritime, 7 H 1269 (both 1214); de Glanville, *Histoire du prieuré de Saint-Lô de Rouen*, II, 356–57, no. XXXXIIa (1221, n.s.); Évreux, Archives dép. de l'Eure, H 711, fol. 148ʳ (1232, n.s.); Rouen, Arch. dép. de la Seine-Maritime, 9 H 29 (act of Henry de Poissy, 1243). For the last two, see *Recueil des Jugements de l'Échiquier de Normandie*, ed. by Delisle, nos 467 (n. 1), 704 (n. 3).

Appendix[1]

No. 1

Act of William fitzGocelin fitzWilliam, recording his sale to Nicholas Groignet of property in front of the church of Notre-Dame la Ronde at Rouen, in the fief of the Earl of Leicester (Rouen, s.d., probably 1189–90).

A: Paris, Arch. nat., S 5199[A] (Templars: Sainte-Vaubourg), no. 55. Sealed *sur double queue*, 175 mm across × 162 mm down; slits and tags for lost seal. Late twelfth-century hand. Torn left edge and two holes affecting ll. 2–4 and 6–8 (of eighteen).[2] Verso: *de Will(elm)o filio Gocelini filio Will(elm)i* (13th century).

Sciant omnes presentes et futuri. quod ego Will(elmu)s filius Gocelini filii Will(elm)i vendidi Nicholao Groignet[3] totam [terram et domum] cum cellario et porprisio ante et retro de ante Sanctam Mariam Rotundam de feodo Co[mitis Leecestrie] quod ego et Clarenbodus [*sic*] frater meus ei ante inuadiamus pro .c. libris and(egauensium). vendidi totam partem [m]eam eiusdem terre et partem quam mihi exciderat post mortem Clarenboudi [*sic*] fratris mei pro ix[xx]. libris and(egauensium). saluo censu Comittis [*sic*] scilicet de uno cento pirorum Sancti Reguli ad reddendum ad festum Sancti Michaelis. ita quod ego addida[ui] et iuraui ut deinceps nichil amplius in eadem terra clamabo nec homo ne femina per me. sed ei et heredibus [suis gara]ntizabo contra omnes homines. et contra omnes feminas. factum fuit hoc acatum concessione Heude[burge] sor[o]ris mee que inde habuit .xxx. solidos and(egauensium). de recognitione. ita quod ipsa Heudeburga absiurauit. [*sic*] quod deinceps nichil

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[1] In the editions below, capitalization has been modernized but the original punctuation has been retained as far as possible. Extensions of abbreviations have been indicated for uncertain forms.

[2] Suggestions for the missing text, drawing upon the Earl of Leicester's confirmation (Appendix, no. 2), are indicated in square brackets.

[3] In or before 1197–98 a Nicholas *Groinnet* sold a horse worth 30 *liv. ang.* to the King of England (*Magni rotuli scaccarii Normanniae sub regibus Angliae*, ed. by Stapleton, II, 306). He should probably be distinguished from a younger son of Hugh Groignet mentioned in an act of the latter in 1208: *Inventaire sommaire des Archives départementales*, ed. by de Beaurepaire and Vernier, III, 322 (Rouen, Arch. dép. de la Seine-Maritime, G 4272); compare de Glanville, *Histoire du prieuré de Saint-Lô de Rouen*, II, 343, no. XXX*e*, for an act of Geoffrey son of Ralph Groignet with his brother Nicholas, concerning the parish of Saint-Léger du Bourg-Denis (*Bordeneium*: Seine-Maritime, canton Darnétal) (1219).

amplius in eadem terra clamabit. nec homo nec femina per se. Actum fuit hoc in plena communa [*sic*] apud Rothomagum coram Luca de Donion tunc maiore Rothomagi et paribus communie.[*sic*] et coram Waltero filio Geroldi tunc balliuo Comitis Leecest(rie). et coram Rogero filio Gerardi seruienti Comittis. Teste Bartholomeo Bataill(e). Hugone filio vicec(omitisse). et Gaufr(ido) fratre suo. Rogero de Bello monte. Radulfo de Coteurart. Nicholao de Puteo. Clarenbo [*sic*] rufo. Gaufr(ido) Cambitore. Ricardo Ghermer. Ansgero de Casten(eio). Will(elm)o de Folebec. Will(elm)o clerico. Jordarno [*sic*] Joism' Michaele Wakelin. Johanne Noel. Matheo le Gros. Radulfo de Kareuilla. Gileb(erto) Rufo. Radulfo de Seint Contes [*sic*]. Johanne filio Eustach(ii). Nicholao filio Mathei. et Radulfo fratre suo. Rogero Gernier. Ludouico filio Will(elm)i. Johanne Aurifabro. Luca Polein. Radulfo de Uinea. Maugero de Sancto Laudo. Rob(erto) filio Drogonis et multis aliis.

No. 2

Robert III, Earl of Leicester, confirms the above sale (Rouen, s.d., probably 1189–90).

A: Paris, Arch. nat., S 5199A (Templars: Sainte-Vaubourg), no. 56. Sealed *sur double queue*, 206–09 mm across × 208 mm down; slits for lost tag and seal. Late twelfth-century hand. No medieval notes on verso.

Robertus Comes Legiscestrie omnibus hominibus suis et amicis tam presentibus quam futuris salutem. Sciatis me concessisse et hac presenti carta mea confirmasse Nicholao Groignet Ciui Rothomagi emptionem quam ipse fecit de terra et domo Will(elm)i filii Gocelini. ante Sanctam Mariam Rotondam. que est de meo feodo. coram me et coram Luca maiore Rothomagi. et multis aliis concessu Heudeberge de Torella sororis sue. tenendam in feodo et hereditate sibi et heredibus suis a me et heredibus meis. bene. et in pace. libere. et quiete. ab omnibus seruiciis et consuetudinibus. taillis.[*sic*] et auxilliis [*sic*]. et actionibus saluo redditu meo quem terra mihi debet. scilicet vnum .c(entum). pirorum Sancti Reguli. per annum ad festum Sancti Michaelis. apud Rothomagum. Et si in aliquo anno communis defectus pirorum erit: ipse Nicholaus et heredes sui erit quietus de illo fructu in illo anno. pro. duo solid(is) monete currentis. Inde mihi dedit prefatus Nicholaus vnum ciphum argenti de recognitione. Licet ante predicto Nicholao et eius heredibus terram illam et domum cum omnibus pertinentiis suis vendere aut inuadiare. aut alio modo placitum suum inde facere saluo mihi et heredibus meis redditu meo et iure. Actum fuit hoc apud Rothomagum. Vt autem hoc ratum et inconcussum futuris temporibus perma-

neat idem ipsum presenti scripto et sigilli mei mumine [*sic*] confirmaui. Hiis testibus Anketino Malore. Rog(er)o de Camp'. Ernulfo de Toruilla. Will(elm)o de Bretoil. Roberto de Bretoil. filiis Comitis. Symone de Toruilla. Waltero filio Geroldi. Galfrido filio vicec(omitisse). Hugone fratre suo. Regin(aldo) de Casteneio. Galfrido de Vale [*sic*] Richeri. Radulfo de Cotewrart. Waltero Marcdargent. Bartholomeo Bataille. Lodouico filio Willelmi. et aliis multis.

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King John and Rouen:
Royal Itineration, Kingship, and the Norman 'Capital', *c.* 1199–*c.* 1204

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O n Sunday 25 April 1199, before he became King of England, John was acclaimed Duke of Normandy in Rouen Cathedral and invested with a coronet of golden roses.[1] *The Life of St Hugh of Lincoln*, written with the considerable benefit of hindsight later in the reign, claimed that John was 'little absorbed by the rite', adding that he carelessly dropped the ducal lance placed 'reverently in his hand' by the Archbishop of Rouen, Walter of Coutances. Those present declared that 'this was a bad portent', later manifested in the loss of Normandy and other parts of John's continental inheritance, circumstances the author of the *Life* attributes to the King's lack of faith in God.[2] This passage encapsulates the stereotypical view of John, portraying a ruler unconcerned with his duchy and unimpressed by the ceremonial of inauguration in its foremost religious building, Rouen Cathedral, in the regional,

[1] Warren, *King John*, pp. 48–50.

[2] 'ducatus susciperet insignia, cum sollempni more ei daret archiepiscopus lanceam in manus [...] ut erat diuinis animo parum intentus [...] Quod sibi ominis fuisse signum infausti, consona pene uniuersorum qui aderant interpretatio asserebat': *Magna Vita Sancti Hugonis*, ed. by Douie and Farmer, II, 144.

indeed ducal, capital.[3] Such views are undoubtedly what commentators on John's reign, down to the present day, have consistently preferred to believe.[4] This article will argue that the Duke's relationship with Rouen calls such negativity into question.

In considering King John and Rouen, this study will take the reign of the last Duke as the focal point for discussion of the importance of Rouen at the end of Angevin rule in Normandy. It will pose two questions. Firstly, how often was John at Rouen between his acclamation as Duke and the fall of the city to King Philip Augustus of France on 24 June 1204, the event regarded as marking the so-called 'loss of Normandy'?[5] To summarize the answer, of the regions of the Angevin Empire, John was usually to be found in Normandy, with Rouen occupying a place of paramount importance. Secondly, what did King John do for Rouen? Here, analysis of royal documents referring to the city and its inhabitants reveals that Rouen's office holders and merchants were key figures in the implementation of government orders on the ground, an involvement that was not without reward. In addition, John demonstrated his awareness of the significance of the Norman ducal capital not only through his regular presence in the city, but also through his largesse to Rouen's churches and churchmen.

The Importance of Rouen on the Royal Itinerary, 1199–1204

In order to answer the question of how often King John was at Rouen, it is worthwhile to begin with a survey of the royal itinerary as a whole. Normandy emerges as the hub of the Angevin Empire. John Gillingham cites figures suggesting that Henry II based himself in his French territories for roughly 63 per cent of his time, with just over two-thirds of this spent in Normandy. Similarly, after his return from crusade and captivity, Richard I passed a total of

[3] On the pros and cons of the use of the word 'capital' to describe Rouen in this period, see Bates, 'Rouen from 900 to 1204', p. 5; Gauthiez, 'Paris, un Rouen capétien?', pp. 119, 123, and 134–35; Holt, 'The End of the Anglo-Norman Realm', p. 244. Fanny Madeline argues that Rouen did not meet all the functions of a capital in the second half of the twelfth century: see her essay in this volume. I have applied the term to describe Rouen in the sense of the city as the principal urban centre of the duchy of Normandy, and as one of the most important locations in the so-called Angevin Empire.

[4] Sidney Packard, for example, writes that John 'set the key-note of his reign by scoffing at the ceremonies of his investiture': Packard, 'King John and the Norman Church', p. 20.

[5] For a critique of this term, see Grant, 'Architectural Relationships between England and Normandy', p. 117.

over three years in Normandy, one year in Anjou, eight months in Aquitaine, and less than two months in England.[6] In the early years of John's reign, Normandy continued to be the axis around which Angevin itinerant rule was based, so much so that Gillingham, hardly John's greatest fan, concludes that 'so far as his itinerary is concerned', John 'was a typical Angevin ruler' who 'became an English king only by default and against his will'.[7]

However, Gillingham's statistics for John's reign only cover the period 1199–1202 and so cannot be used as evidence for the full extent of John's active rule in Normandy. In terms of the present investigation this is a problem, because Rouen dominates John's itinerary in 1203. The following analysis is based on T. D. Hardy's itinerary of King John, published in 1835 in the Record Commission edition of the patent rolls. This reveals the King's known whereabouts across his reign and can be augmented, occasionally, by evidence derived from *Memoranda Roll 1 John*, *Liberate Roll 2 John*, and the printed *Cartae Antiquae Rolls*.[8] The itinerary was surveyed in terms of the locations John visited and the number of occasions he is recorded at each between his inauguration as Duke in April 1199 and the fall of Rouen in June 1204. In this period his whereabouts are known for almost exactly two-thirds of the time.[9]

John visited 245 locations in the Angevin Empire during the period under discussion.[10] Of these, 121 were in the Angevin lands in France, and 124 were in England. This apparently even distribution is, however, misleading. When the statistics are examined on a regional basis, Normandy emerges as the most important, not only in comparison with the French regions, but also in comparison with England. John visited seventy-six locations in Normandy, sixty-

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[6] Gillingham, 'The Angevin Empire', p. 56. For a counterargument, that Normandy was the major loser from the creation of the Angevin Empire, see Musset, 'Quelques problèmes posés par l'annexion de la Normandie', pp. 292–94.

[7] Gillingham, 'The Angevin Empire', p. 56, and see also the statistics presented at p. 54.

[8] 'Itinerary of King John, &c.', ed. by Hardy; *The Memoranda Roll for the Michaelmas Term*, intro. by Richardson. The additions to the royal itinerary are summarized in the introduction to this volume. *The Cartae Antiquae Rolls 1–10*, ed. by Landon; *The Cartae Antiquae Rolls 11–20*, ed. by Davies. For April 1199, information was taken from Warren, *King John*, pp. 48–50. These sources form the basis of the calculations in the following discussion.

[9] On 1249 days out of a total of 1888, or 66.2 per cent. Although not included in the calculations that follow, of the 639 days on which John's whereabouts are unknown, it seems that he was somewhere in his French territories on 465 and somewhere in England on 138. It is unclear whether he was in his French lands or in England on only thirty-six days during the period.

[10] He also visited one location outside the Angevin lands: Paris.

eight in southern England, forty-five in his French lands outside Normandy, thirty-one in the Midlands and eastern counties of England, and twenty-five locations north of the Mersey and Humber Rivers. More significant, however, are the number of occasions John is to be found at each location. This shows how much time he spent in each region and clearly reinforces the view that the French lands were of particular significance, especially Normandy. The 124 locations in England account for only 436 occasions between 1199 and 1204, whereas the 121 places in the French lands account for 1030 visits. The Norman statistics dominate the latter figure, accounting for 804 examples of John's presence, almost twice as many individual visits as are evidenced in England. The Normandy total represents 78 per cent of the King's appearances in his French lands, and nearly 55 per cent of the combined figure for his itineration in England and France.[11] So, contrary to the remarks of the *Life of St Hugh of Lincoln*, Normandy was of central importance to John.

John's focus on Normandy after 1199 seems to have been a new development. It has been argued previously that 'John took an active interest in his Norman county' of Mortain (which he was granted in 1189) during the period before he became Duke.[12] However, Nicholas Vincent's recent examination of the surviving charters (or evidence of charters) of John issued before 1199 calls this view into question. Vincent argues that even though the future king was resident in the duchy for much, if not all, of the period between 1193 and 1199, the documentary evidence for his activity reveals a marked preoccupation with his affairs in England and Ireland. He does not appear to have felt at home in Normandy, nor to have considered himself to be a Norman, and showed no interest at all in the Angevin lands south of the duchy. Moreover, in 1194, as he tried to safeguard the position he had established during Richard I's absence, he showed that he was prepared to grant away important frontier regions to Philip Augustus.[13] So, his 'reputation with most Norman lords cannot have been particularly high' in 1199.[14] Nevertheless, he was able to secure enough support to

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[11] Of the figures for England, John is to be found in Wiltshire (fifty-eight instances on the royal itinerary) and Hampshire (eighty-one times) on 139 occasions, or 31.8 per cent of the English total. He therefore gives the impression of spending almost a third of his time in England as close as possible to the Norman duchy.

[12] Power, 'King John and the Norman Aristocracy', pp. 122–23.

[13] Vincent, 'Jean comte de Mortain'. John finally granted away these regions in 1200, under the terms of the treaty of Le Goulet. There is, however, no indication that he ever considered abandoning Rouen or the lands of central Normandy.

[14] Power, 'King John and the Norman Aristocracy', p. 123.

succeed Richard as Duke and King, and when he did so his itineration suggests a desire to learn about his inheritance as quickly as possible. In the extensive travels of the early years of his reign, he revealed an appreciation (which perhaps only dawned on him when Richard died) of how, amongst the continental lands of the Angevin Empire, and even of the empire as a whole, 'the real centre lay in Normandy'.[15]

But what of Rouen and the evidence for John's presence in the city after he became Duke? The city's importance had been underlined in 1199, when Richard I, on his deathbed, instructed William Marshal to secure the city's keep and the royal treasure.[16] Between 1199 and 1204, analysis covering the whole of the Angevin Empire reveals the Norman capital as the place where John was by far most frequently to be found, thereby maintaining the status accorded to the city by his predecessors.[17] Although the itinerary does not record his presence in Rouen in 1200, nonetheless he was present in the city 156 times during the period under study. This is three times more than anywhere else in Normandy, the nearest comparisons being Roche-Orival (where John was present fifty-one times) and Roche-Andely (forty-six times). It is also substantially more than anywhere outside the duchy, where only six locations total more than twenty visits, with the highest figure that for Chinon (with sixty-three instances of John's presence).[18] The relative significance of Rouen and Chinon is one that is open to debate. The latter certainly appears to have been a useful centre of operations and one of the major treasuries of the Angevin Empire, and indeed, John spent more time there prior to 1203 than he did at Rouen, where he is recorded forty-eight times up to the end of 1202. It would seem, therefore, that between 1199 and 1202 Rouen was one among a series of important centres of power of a king with a wide-ranging itinerary. However, John's last full

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[15] Holt, 'The End of the Anglo-Norman Realm', p. 243.

[16] Powicke, *The Loss of Normandy*, p. 130.

[17] See the discussion in Bates, 'Rouen from 900 to 1204', pp. 4–5; Bates, 'The Rise and Fall of Normandy', pp. 31–32. Lucien Musset is more sceptical, pointing out that William the Conqueror favoured Caen, that Henry II visited Rouen increasingly infrequently, and that the citizens saw Richard I as 'un souverain absent qui leur coûtait cher': Musset, 'Rouen au temps des Francs et sous les ducs', pp. 44–46. Fanny Madeline argues that Henry II's patronage of Rouen, and his use of the city as a royal residence, ceased after 1174 and that Richard I constructed the Château-Gaillard complex as a new centre of royal power for the duchy: see her essay in this volume. If so, these policies were reversed by John, especially in 1203.

[18] The other five locations were Le Mans and Saumur in the French lands, and Marlborough, Westminster, and Winchester in England.

year as Duke of Normandy (1203) deserves special attention, on account of the unprecedented amount of time he spent in the Norman capital.

Why was Rouen the main centre of John's operations in 1203? In part, this was due to necessity. The revolt at Alençon in January 1203 blocked the King's route south, cutting him off from Chinon and the fortresses of Anjou and the Touraine from which 'it was as easy to direct affairs in the heart of Aquitaine as in the heart of Normandy'.[19] There then began a process in which the Duke's authority in the duchy was gradually eroded, by the attacks of Philip Augustus along the eastern frontier and by the rebellious Bretons and their allies in the west and south-west. During the period following the Alençon revolt, John's itinerary shows him criss-crossing his remaining terri-tory in central Normandy, covering an area to the south-west of Rouen and the western Seine valley, extending to the south to Falaise, Argentan, and Verneuil. Occasionally, he made brief forays outside this 'comfort zone', to the north or west. The King was clearly highly active, even though he apparently achieved very little. However, the striking fact about this itinerary is the frequency with which John returned to Rouen and spent time there, even after Philip had begun his siege of Château-Gaillard, 'the bar to Rouen', in late August.[20] He clearly saw the city as his stronghold and power base, and after the events of January 1203 he transferred his most important political prisoner, Arthur of Brittany, to the city's keep (where it appears that he was murdered, shortly before Easter, almost certainly by John or on his orders).[21] These are not the actions of a ruler who believed his territories to be lost: had he done so, a far earlier retreat to England would surely have been in order. When he did leave Normandy, in early December 1203, the combination of time spent in Rouen and itineration around the duchy would have provided him with a keen sense of what was needed to regain the upper hand. The events of the early months of 1204 suggest that John was preparing an army to lead to Normandy but that

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[19] Powicke, *The Loss of Normandy*, pp. 9, 10–11. Lewis Warren writes of the river (the Loire) and the road between Angers and Tours as the 'strategic hub of the Angevin Empire': Warren, *King John*, p. 51; see also pp. 80–81 and 84 for some of the problems created by John in his southern lands. For a recent assessment of the revolt at Alençon and its significance, see Power, 'The End of Angevin Normandy'.

[20] Warren, *King John*, p. 86.

[21] On the fate of Arthur of Brittany, see Warren, *King John*, pp. 82–83; Powicke, *The Loss of Normandy*, pp. 157, 309–28. James Holt argues that Arthur's claim and the treatment of the Breton prince are key to understanding the events of John's reign: Holt, 'King John and Arthur of Brittany'.
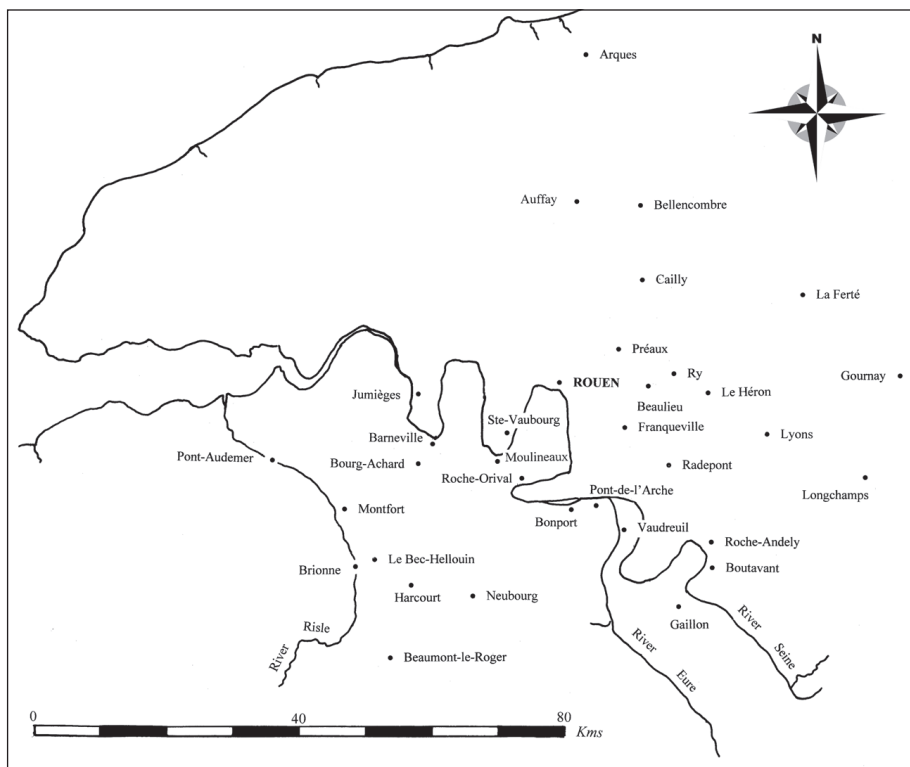
Map 11. Locations on King John's itinerary within a comfortable
day's travel of Rouen, 1199–1203 (© Paul Webster).

he was thwarted by the momentum of Philip's successful military campaign.[22]
Even then, John is unlikely to have accepted that the losses were permanent.[23]
However, his limited achievements in 1203, his repeated failure to make a
meaningful response to setbacks, and the manner of his departure created the
impression of flight and of abandoning the duchy to its fate.[24]

Between John's accession in 1199 and his departure from the duchy in
1203, the importance of Rouen can also be seen in how often John spent time
near the Norman ducal capital. The Norman locations on the itinerary can
be mapped to show the frequency with which John was within a comfortable

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[22] Warren, *King John*, pp. 94–99; Powicke, *The Loss of Normandy*, pp. 251–60.

[23] Peltzer, 'The Slow Death of the Angevin Empire', pp. 553–54.

[24] See the comments in Powicke, *The Loss of Normandy*, pp. 166–67.

day's ride of Rouen (see Map 11). In terms of royal government, this primarily shows that if petitioners arrived in Rouen and found the King absent, they would not have had to travel far to find the court. Such mapping suggests a revision to John Gillingham's argument 'that there was something approaching a capital on the 20-mile highway between Rouen and Andeli'.[25] Here, the term 'highway' is perhaps misleading. John certainly frequented Rouen and Roche-Andely, but a route 'as the crow flies' between them reveals only two sites that received royal visits, Franqueville and Radepont, accounting for the royal presence only three times between 1199 and the end of 1203. The river Seine provides a more promising means of analysis (Map 11). The winding path of the river between Rouen and Andely takes in four locations regularly visited by the Duke: Roche-Orival, Bonport, Pont-de-l'Arche, and Vaudreuil, accounting for a combined total of 103 visits.

However, a wider analysis is required, taking a radius of approximately 25 miles (40 km) around the city to show how often the Duke was within a day's travel of the Norman capital (see Map 11). In 1199, he was in Rouen on seventeen occasions (for instance in August, when he received the homage of Count Baldwin of Flanders), but within a day of the city a further thirty-three times, a pattern to some extent repeated in 1201.[26] Meanwhile, although not recorded in Rouen in 1200, twenty-six examples can be found of him being no more than a day away, and this in a year when John was engaged in a wide-ranging tour of his continental lands.[27] Most strikingly, in 1202 John was in Rouen on twenty-six occasions, but his Norman itinerary was focused around the capital, both north and south of the Seine, accounting for 109 recorded examples. Combined with the figures for Rouen, this is approximate to a third of the year, and to slightly more than half of the 265 days on which the royal location can be established in 1202. Finally, in 1203, the figures are dominated by the 108 occasions when John was in Rouen. When he ventured outside the capital he was no more than a day away on a further seventy-four occasions, making a combined total of over half the days where his whereabouts in 1203 are known.

To summarize, of the many regional centres of power of the Angevin Empire under John, Rouen occupies a pre-eminent position. Between his accession as Duke in April 1199 and his final departure from the duchy in December 1203,

[25] Gillingham, 'The Angevin Empire', p. 56.

[26] For the homage of Baldwin of Flanders, see Warren, *King John*, p. 53.

[27] In addition to the royal itinerary ('Itinerary of King John, &c.', ed. by Hardy), see Warren, *King John*, pp. 64–65 and 70. John conducted a similar tour of England in 1201.

the city was the single location in which John was most frequently to be found. Even when he was not present there, he was often no more than a day's travel away.

John's Relationship with Rouen: Leading Citizens as an Instrument of Government

Having thus established the importance of Rouen to John, it is necessary to turn to the second question under discussion: what did King John do for Rouen? Later writers, such as Roger of Wendover, claimed that when Richard I bequeathed his heart to the city's cathedral, he acknowledged the 'incomparable fidelity' of its inhabitants.[28] Was John's relationship with the citizens as close? What follows is based on a survey of the royal archive for letters and charters issued by John whilst he was at Rouen and those concerning Rouen. The office holders, leading citizens, and merchants of the city emerge as key players in the enforcement of orders indicating the royal will. The evidence for their role is crucial in highlighting the day-to-day mechanics of Angevin government, and their service was not without its rewards. Here, the primary purpose is to explore the bond between the Duke and the ducal capital, but the evidence has wider implications relating to the conduct of John's government as a whole.

The civic officials of Rouen were regularly required to play their part in the enactment of John's orders. They were no doubt happy to do so, in the expectation that the extensive rights and privileges granted by the King's predecessors, across the Angevin lands, would be continued and enhanced.[29] John did not disappoint them, and shortly after his accession as Duke he confirmed and augmented the rights enjoyed by the Rouennais, in detailed terms.[30] Nicholas Vincent sees this as acknowledgement of their support for John's accession, but in addition John expected ongoing support for his rule.[31] The Mayor, in par-

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[28] 'incomporabilem fidelitatem': Roger of Wendover, *Rogeri de Wendover liber qui dicitur Flores Historiarum*, ed. by Hewlett, I, 283.

[29] On the rights and trading privileges enjoyed by the citizens of Rouen during the period of Angevin rule, see Chéruel, *Histoire de Rouen pendant l'époque communale*, I, 15–17, 30–31, 38–39; Deck, 'Les Marchands de Rouen sous les ducs', p. 249; Sadourny, 'Les Marchands normands en Angleterre', p. 133; Sadourny, 'Les Grandes familles rouennaises', pp. 268–69.

[30] Vincent, 'Jean comte de Mortain', p. 54. See also Chéruel, *Histoire de Rouen pendant l'époque communale*, I, 57–58 and 250–55.

[31] Vincent, 'Jean comte de Mortain', p. 54.

ticular, was a regular recipient of royal letters. He was ordered to perform a diverse range of tasks. For instance, in May 1200 he was instructed to pay the expenses of a clerk who had been forced to prolong his stay in Rouen due to illness, to make payments from the revenues of the city to the wife and son of one Domingo de Stella, and to send four tuns of wine to Valognes.[32] These three examples indicate the sort of business in which the office holders of Rouen were regularly engaged. Presumably this was essential when revenues from the city were involved, for instance when sums from one of the fairs of Rouen were given to Peter de Préaux in 1200, or when John's grants involved houses or plots of land in the city.[33] The involvement of officials might also be expedient, or practical, when the business in hand concerned locations close to Rouen, for instance the nearby Cistercian monastery of Bonport: in May 1202 the mayor and sheriff of Rouen received letters concerning lands and dues of a widow who resided at the abbey at the wish of Richard I.[34] In other cases, the wealth of the city or its officials may have lain behind requests such as those made to the Mayor to lend money to Roger Mortimer and to the sheriff to make payments to Reginald de Bois from the *prévôté* of Rouen.[35] The civic officials were drawn from the city commune's leading merchant families, and this status presumably underpinned orders for them to provide provisions on behalf of the King.[36] A number of examples may be cited. In September 1200, the Mayor was ordered to provide horse harnesses and baskets for the royal chapel, and to send them to Valognes, whilst in February 1202 the sheriff was required to send corn, wine, and herrings to the monks of Grandmont.[37] Meanwhile, an undated grant from

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[32] *Rotuli Normanniae in Turri Londinensi asservati*, ed. by Hardy, p. 23.

[33] *Rotuli chartarum in Turri Londinensi asservati*, ed. by Hardy, pp. 33b and 70b–71a; *Rotuli Normanniae in Turri Londinensi asservati*, ed. by Hardy, pp. 45, 49. On the grant of lordship of the Channel Islands to Peter de Préaux, to which the allocation of revenues in Rouen is connected, see Everard and Holt, *Jersey 1204*, pp. 76–77; Power, 'Les Dernières années du régime angevin en Normandie', p. 179. It is unclear which of Rouen's fairs is referred to in the grant to Peter de Préaux, but the most important, that of St Romain (or du Pardon, which lasted for one month), might tentatively be suggested. On this fair, see Periaux, *Dictionnaire indicateur et historique des rues et places de Rouen*, pp. 113–14 and 129. I am grateful to Elma Brenner for drawing this reference to my attention.

[34] *Rotuli litterarum patentium in Turri Londinensi asservati*, ed. by Hardy, p. 10a.

[35] *Rotuli litterarum patentium in Turri Londinensi asservati*, ed. by Hardy, pp. 14a and 15a.

[36] For a summary of the early history and organization of the commune of Rouen (granted to the city by Henry II), see Musset, 'Rouen au temps des Francs et sous les ducs', pp. 61–64.

[37] *Rotuli Normanniae in Turri Londinensi asservati*, ed. by Hardy, pp. 30 and 79.

the fourth regnal year ordered arms, armour, and other military provisions to be sent to the castle of Radepont by the sheriff of Rouen.[38]

All this has an air of administrative routine. It nonetheless provides crucial evidence of how John's government operated. He was dependent on men such as the mayor and sheriff of Rouen for the enforcement of orders issued in his name. It was doubtless desirable for local officials to deal with local business, and if they proved dependable they could in all probability also be called upon to deal with matters relating to the surrounding area. When it came to requirements such as provisioning castles, the status of Rouen as a major market centre on the Seine was no doubt also significant. Overall, the execution of the royal will was dependent on the existence of willing and able enforcers on the ground, who could be relied upon to act for the King both when he was present and, more importantly, when he was in other parts of the Angevin Empire.

In considering John's dealings with the civic officials of Rouen, it is not simply the case of bald orders being issued to unnamed officials. In 1199, reference to Geoffrey Le Changeur can be found, when he was granted revenues from the city's market in exchange for forest rights given to him by Richard I.[39] Geoffrey, a member of the Val Richer family (who provided mayors of Rouen at various times from the 1230s onwards), had been an important royal agent in Richard's reign, closely involved with the payment of the King's ransom and the building of Château-Gaillard.[40] Under John, Geoffrey's appearance in 1199 is followed in 1202, when he was ordered to make a payment of 100 silver marks and received a sum of 100 *liv. ang.*[41] Meanwhile, John de Préaux (who later defected to the French crown and helped negotiate the surrender of Norman castles in 1204) is named as bailiff in 1200, with Laurence du Donjon, who will be considered below, referred to as Rouen's sheriff, and Richard de Beauchamp as the constable of the city's keep, both at the end of 1203.[42] Before Richard became castellan, Robert de Vieuxpont seems to have held the role (in addition to serv-

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[38] *Rotuli Normanniae in Turri Londinensi asservati*, ed. by Hardy, p. 55. Radepont fell to Philip Augustus in September 1203: Powicke, *The Loss of Normandy*, p. 164.

[39] *Rotuli chartarum in Turri Londinensi asservati*, ed. by Hardy, p. 5a.

[40] Powicke, *The Loss of Normandy*, pp. 239–40; Sadourny, 'Les Grandes familles rouennaises', p. 271; Mollat, *Histoire de Rouen*, liste des maires, and see Manon Six's essay in this volume; Deck, 'Les Marchands de Rouen sous les ducs', p. 252.

[41] *Rotuli Normanniae in Turri Londinensi asservati*, ed. by Hardy, p. 49; *Rotuli litterarum patentium in Turri Londinensi asservati*, ed. by Hardy, p. 15b.

[42] *Rotuli Normanniae in Turri Londinensi asservati*, ed. by Hardy, pp. 27, 107, 108, 115; Power, 'King John and the Norman Aristocracy', p. 135 and n. 114; Power, 'Angevin Normandy',

ing as bailiff in 1203).[43] De Vieuxpont was a prominent figure in royal service in John's reign, initially in Normandy, where he was rewarded with the grant of family lands at Vieuxpont-en-Auge (Calvados) forfeited following his uncle's defection to the King of France. When John retreated from the duchy, Robert joined him in England, where the rewards of royal service led to him becoming one of the most important barons in northern England.[44] Meanwhile, two of Rouen's mayors are referred to by name. In May 1200, Matthew le Gros was reimbursed the sum of 62 shillings *Angevin* spent in providing a cart and harness for transporting the royal kitchen.[45] One of Matthew's successors as mayor, Ralph de Cailly, is named in a letter issued in July 1202.[46]

The evidence for Ralph's career seems indicative of the potential rewards and risks of royal service. He was clearly among the first rank of Rouen's citizens, credited with the gift to the city of the premises considered to be the first town hall.[47] In 1203, having ceased to hold office, Ralph was granted exemption from the *maltolt* for one of his ships, indicating his status as one of the city's merchants and suggestive of the benefits of enforcing the royal will.[48] In doing so he may well have made enemies. A letter from later the same year to the seneschal of Normandy and the Mayor of Rouen (not named) stated that until the King returned to the duchy, Ralph was not to be prosecuted. In the wider context of the political situation, this letter suggests that John's departure from the duchy three weeks later (when he left Normandy for the final time) was in fact planned, rather than representing a disorderly retreat. Powicke argues that

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pp. 77–78. On Laurence du Donjon, see Sadourny, 'Une famille rouennaise à la fin de la période ducale', p. 186.

[43] Powicke, *The Loss of Normandy*, pp. 69–70; see also p. 357.

[44] Summerson, 'Vieuxpont, Robert de'.

[45] *Rotuli Normanniae in Turri Londinensi asservati*, ed. by Hardy, p. 22. This grant is also evidence of the requirements of regularly transporting the royal court around the Angevin Empire. Matthew le Gros had previously served as Mayor in 1195 (Chéruel, *Histoire de Rouen pendant l'époque communale*, i, 360); or 1195 and 1199 (François Farin, *Histoire de la ville de Rouen*, i, 102–03); or 1195, 1198, and 1199 (Mollat, *Histoire de Rouen*, liste des maires; Deck, 'Les Marchands de Rouen sous les ducs', p. 251). Deck notes that Matthew's prestige did not pass to his immediate descendants. See also Sadourny, 'Une famille rouennaise à la fin de la période ducale', p. 183, n. 3, for comments on the various lists of mayors.

[46] *Rotuli litterarum patentium in Turri Londinensi asservati*, ed. by Hardy, p. 15b. Chéruel's list of mayors suggests that Ralph de Cailly held the office in 1198, with Ralph Groignet serving in 1202: Chéruel, *Histoire de Rouen pendant l'époque communale*, i, 360–61.

[47] Sadourny, 'Une famille rouennaise à la fin de la période ducale', p. 184.

[48] *Rotuli litterarum patentium in Turri Londinensi asservati*, ed. by Hardy, p. 24b.

the Duke was trying 'to make people in Normandy believe that he would soon be among them again', when many believed that the fall of the duchy was only a matter of time.[49] This may be so, but the evidence suggests that John would have been amongst the last to accept that the sentiments he expressed in his letter would remain unfulfilled. He continued to issue documents that spoke of his hopes of regaining his lost territories even after the continental defeats of 1214 that might otherwise be seen to have brought an end to these ambitions.[50] Furthermore, the Capetian conquest was not fully accepted as a fait accompli by the chapters of the Norman cathedral churches until at least the 1230s.[51] Meanwhile, the grant of immunity from prosecution in 1203 suggests that somebody felt they had a case against Ralph de Cailly and that John preferred business relating to a servant of the crown to be reserved for the royal court.

Consideration of government business relating to two men of Rouen, Jean Luce and Laurence du Donjon, further demonstrates the roles required of leading citizens by the crown and the potential rewards.[52] The latter first appears in the records in 1200, but it is in 1202 and 1203 that the two men are particularly prominent.[53] Both were important merchants in the city and were involved in supporting royal revenues, whether by making loans to the Duke or in the outlay of money on his behalf. For instance, in March 1203, Jean Luce was repaid a loan of 100 *liv. ang*. Other repayments to him followed: in April, to cover money paid to Reginald de Bois; in August, to reimburse expenditure in the carriage of wine; in November, to account for 53 *liv. ang*. spent by the King's order.[54] Meanwhile, Laurence, whose family had provided Rouen's mayor (Lucas du Donjon) in 1189 and 1194, was one of Rouen's office holders, recorded as *prévôt* and sheriff in 1203, receiving royal orders and being made responsible for the fortification of the city.[55] His family's role as financiers was

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[49] Powicke, *The Loss of Normandy*, p. 167 and n. 241.

[50] For instance, in a charter dated 4 September 1215, John promised that if he recovered the city of Le Mans it would be granted to Richard I's widow, Berengaria, in fulfilment of the terms of her disputed dowry: *Rotuli chartarum in Turri Londinensi asservati*, ed. by Hardy, p. 219b.

[51] Peltzer, 'The Slow Death of the Angevin Empire', pp. 562–73.

[52] On the du Donjon family, see Sadourny, 'Une famille rouennaise à la fin de la période ducale', pp. 183–88. For further discussion of the careers of these men, see Sadourny, 'Les Grandes familles rouennaises', p. 269; Sadourny, 'Rouen face à Philippe Auguste', p. 282, and the references there collected.

[53] For 1200, see *Rotuli Normanniae in Turri Londinensi asservati*, ed. by Hardy, p. 25.

[54] *Rotuli litterarum patentium in Turri Londinensi asservati*, ed. by Hardy, p. 26b; *Rotuli Normanniae in Turri Londinensi asservati*, ed. by Hardy, pp. 91, 103, 111.

[55] Powicke, *The Loss of Normandy*, pp. 70, 240 and notes; *Rotuli litterarum patentium*

probably crucial in explaining their status in the city, and Laurence made sub-
stantial loans to the King, which were repaid in February and June of the same
year.[56] Laurence was also responsible for royal business, including acts of piety
such as feeding the poor, and for the purchase of garments for John's queen,
Isabella of Angoulême.[57] Both men were involved in supplying provisions, both
for the royal household — for instance when Laurence was ordered to provide
baskets for the royal chapel in June 1202 — and for royal residences, castles,
and religious houses, seen in a series of orders issued in 1202 and 1203.[58]

Evidence for the careers of Jean Luce and Laurence du Donjon extends to
the rewards they reaped from royal service. In July 1202 Jean Luce, Laurence
du Donjon, and Ralph de Cailly all received payments of 100 *liv. ang.*, and
in August, Jean and Laurence were awarded the first boats of wine and salt to
arrive in Rouen from France.[59] In February 1203, Jean Luce was granted quit-
tance of the *maltolt* applying to twenty tuns of wine.[60] In the summer, Laurence
was granted the right to burn charcoal and take timber in the lands of the city
of Rouen, in return for rendering the King a pair of gilded spurs.[61] In addi-
tion, in November 1203, Jean was granted the right of 'pennyweight' in the
shrievalty of Rouen, for which he was to pay a render in fruit: five hundred
pears for the city's keep.[62] Finally, it is worth noting that interaction between

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in Turri Londinensi asservati, ed. by Hardy, p. 25a; *Rotuli Normanniae in Turri Londinensi
asservati*, ed. by Hardy, pp. 107, 108. See also *Rotuli litterarum patentium in Turri Londinensi
asservati*, ed. by Hardy, p. 10b for further evidence of fortification work. For Lucas du Donjon
as Mayor of Rouen, see Deck, 'Les Marchands de Rouen sous les ducs', p. 251; Sadourny, 'Une
famille rouennaise à la fin de la période ducale', p. 183.

[56] Sadourny, 'Une famille rouennaise à la fin de la période ducale', p. 186; Powicke, *The Loss
of Normandy*, p. 240 and notes; *Rotuli litterarum patentium in Turri Londinensi asservati*, ed.
by Hardy, p. 25a; *Rotuli de liberate ac de misis et praestitis*, ed. by Hardy, p. 40. See also Lewis
Warren's comment that in his last months as Duke, John 'was borrowing from anyone who had
money to lend': Warren, *King John*, pp. 91–92.

[57] Powicke, *The Loss of Normandy*, p. 241 and n. 181; *Rotuli de liberate ac de misis et praesti-
tis*, ed. by Hardy, p. 51; *Rotuli Normanniae in Turri Londinensi asservati*, ed. by Hardy, pp. 107,
108. On feeding the poor, see also Webster, 'King John's Piety', pp. 129–43, although the coinci-
dence is not noted here. On Isabella, see also Vincent, 'Isabella of Angoulême'.

[58] *Rotuli Normanniae in Turri Londinensi asservati*, ed. by Hardy, pp. 48, 49, 50, 59, 85.

[59] *Rotuli litterarum patentium in Turri Londinensi asservati*, ed. by Hardy, pp. 15b, 16b.

[60] *Rotuli Normanniae in Turri Londinensi asservati*, ed. by Hardy, p. 79.

[61] *Rotuli chartarum in Turri Londinensi asservati*, ed. by Hardy, p. 106a–b.

[62] 'denarium ponderis': *Rotuli chartarum in Turri Londinensi asservati*, ed. by Hardy,
p. 113a.

Laurence and King John extended beyond the loss of Normandy: safe conducts were issued in 1205, 1208, and 1213 for Laurence to go to and from England with his wine and merchandise.[63] These safe conducts were no empty gesture. In 1205 his wines were seized in London despite the protection he had been granted, and John had to step in to ensure that the seizures were restored.[64] The merchants of Rouen were no different from other Norman traders in seeing their privileges in England ended by the events of 1204. Thereafter, they were frequently subjected to seizures of their goods or imprisonment at the English ports, although the kings often intervened to safeguard their interests, both during John's reign and under Henry III.[65] That said, John may have felt it useful to maintain contacts in the duchy after its fall to Philip Augustus, a role that a leading Norman merchant with established trading links with England would have been well placed to fulfil.[66] Interestingly, the careers of Laurence du Donjon and Jean Luce seem to have taken divergent paths after Philip's takeover of Rouen. The du Donjon family continued to live in the city, and traces of their activity can be found until the 1230s, but like many friends of the Angevin rulers, they no longer occupied positions of power.[67] In contrast, Jean Luce was Mayor of Rouen eight times between the city's capture and Philip Augustus's death.[68] He was amongst those who obtained possession of the site of the former ducal castle, pulled down by Philip upon his capture of the city.[69]

Although John supported Rouen's merchants, he also took advantage of their trading privileges, for instance in 1200 when he claimed the right to two barrels

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[63] *Rotuli litterarum patentium in Turri Londinensi asservati*, ed. by Hardy, pp. 86a, 105b; Sadourny, 'Une famille rouennaise à la fin de la période ducale', pp. 185–86.

[64] Sadourny, 'Une famille rouennaise à la fin de la période ducale', pp. 185–86; Sadourny, 'Rouen face à Philippe Auguste', p. 286.

[65] Sadourny, 'Les Marchands normands en Angleterre', pp. 134–36.

[66] For evidence of suspicion on the part of the French crown of Rouennais churchmen pursuing their affairs in England, see Peltzer, 'The Slow Death of the Angevin Empire', pp. 563, 581; Powicke, *The Loss of Normandy*, p. 269.

[67] Sadourny, 'Une famille rouennaise à la fin de la période ducale', pp. 183–88, gives a complete summary of their activity. François Farin, *Histoire de la ville de Rouen*, I, 102–03, gives Luc du Donjon as Mayor in 1223, but this is not corroborated elsewhere. See also Deck, 'Les Marchands de Rouen sous les ducs', p. 251; Sadourny, 'Les Marchands normands en Angleterre', pp. 137, 140.

[68] Sadourny, 'Rouen face à Philippe Auguste', p. 282; Sadourny, 'L'Époque communale', p. 84. See also Chéruel, *Histoire de Rouen pendant l'époque communale*, I, 361–62.

[69] Musset, 'Quelques problèmes posés par l'annexion de la Normandie', p. 299.

of wine from every *rouennais* ship docking in London.[70] But in general he was keen to promote the city's traders in their business within and outside the city. An undated letter, probably from December 1202, requested Marie, Countess of Flanders, to return money taken from two Rouen merchants: Geoffrey Trentegerons and Roger fitz Agnes.[71] In addition, several letters referred to boats on the river Seine coming to Rouen, principally those bringing food and wine.[72] It seems likely that these reflect concern that the conflict with Philip Augustus would deter merchants from trading in the Norman capital. Certainly John was keen to ensure that the castle and keep of Rouen, where he may have witnessed the damage caused by the fire of October 1203, were adequately provisioned.[73] In August 1203 Thomas le Feutrer was paid £8 15s. for fifty pork carcasses for provisioning Rouen castle.[74] Likewise, in November, a land grant required forty chickens to be rendered at the keep, and the King also took the time to repay money spent repairing the houses, walls, and bridge of Rouen castle and for providing timber for the keep.[75] Such concerns continued after John's departure from the duchy. In February 1204, fifty measures of cheese were sent to Rouen castle, and in February or March safe conducts were issued for those taking food to Rouen, specifically mentioning food to provision the castle.[76] Preparations were clearly underway for a potential siege by King Philip.[77]

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[70] Bates, 'Rouen from 900 to 1204', p. 7. The citizens of Rouen enjoyed long-standing rights relating to their trade in London. They lost their pre-eminence in the sale of wine as a result of the events of 1204: Musset, 'Rouen au temps des Francs et sous les ducs', p. 70.

[71] *Rotuli litterarum patentium in Turri Londinensi asservati*, ed. by Hardy, p. 21b. Geoffrey would go on to serve as Rouen's mayor in 1219: Chéruel, *Histoire de Rouen pendant l'époque communale*, I, 362; Deck, 'Les Marchands de Rouen sous les ducs', p. 251. Geoffrey was presumably descended from the William Trentegerons who had administered the farms of Rouen and Southampton in the 1150s: Musset, 'Rouen au temps des Francs et sous les ducs', p. 60; Musset, 'Y eut-il une aristocratie d'affaires communes', pp. 10–11.

[72] *Rotuli litterarum patentium in Turri Londinensi asservati*, ed. by Hardy, pp. 8a, 13b, 16b, 25b (two letters), 26b, 30b.

[73] On the fire, see Chéruel, *Histoire de Rouen pendant l'époque communale*, I, 79–80. Chéruel misdated this event to October 1200. I am grateful to Alison Alexander for illuminating discussion of the fires at Rouen in the early 1200s.

[74] *Rotuli de liberate ac de misis et praestitis*, ed. by Hardy, p. 56.

[75] *Rotuli chartarum in Turri Londinensi asservati*, ed. by Hardy, p. 113b; *Rotuli Normanniae in Turri Londinensi asservati*, ed. by Hardy, p. 111.

[76] *Rotuli de liberate ac de misis et praestitis*, ed. by Hardy, p. 85; *Rotuli litterarum patentium in Turri Londinensi asservati*, ed. by Hardy, p. 39b.

[77] See also the summary of John's preparations in Warren, *King John*, pp. 93–94.

The evidence for John's relationship with Rouen shows that the King drew on the wealth of the city and its merchants to fulfil and serve his own governmental ends. In turn, the leading citizens were prepared to serve the Crown, presumably on account of the potential rewards, and they might hope for royal protection if the risks they ran created enemies. John's interaction with Rouen would therefore appear to provide insight into the way in which Angevin government worked on the ground. In the case of a ruler who was regularly present in the city and who, in John's case, sought to stave off the hostile advances of the French King, the system appears to have worked well. However, it is equally clear that it was a system of government which depended on the King being able to command the loyalty of the leading citizens. Where this broke down, as it seems clear that it did in large parts of the continental lands of the Angevin Empire, there were likely to be problems.[78] Even in the case of Rouen, once John had departed from the city it was only a matter of a few months before the townsmen surrendered to Philip Augustus, and this despite the efforts the last Angevin Duke had made for the city to withstand a siege.[79] When it came to the crunch, the need to preserve civic rights and immunities through cooperation with Philip proved greater than loyalty to a duke who was no longer present and whose chances of providing relief, let alone of sustaining the rights the citizens had hitherto enjoyed, had largely evaporated. The preservation of these rights was the key. When the Duke of Normandy could guarantee this, he received the support of the Rouennais, as Henry II and Richard I found when the citizens repelled the sieges of 1174 and 1194. When the duke's authority was clearly on the wane, the merchants and civic officials looked elsewhere. Just as this helps to explain the success of Geoffrey of Anjou in taking the city in 1144, it explains how Rouen was lost to John sixty years later.[80]

[78] See, for instance, Daniel Power's argument that 'John's decisive failures were in central Normandy', where his reliance on hired mercenaries destroyed any chance of his maintaining the loyalty and support of his Norman subjects: Power, 'King John and the Norman Aristocracy', p. 136.

[79] For discussion of the capitulation of Rouen to Philip Augustus, see Power, 'King John and the Norman Aristocracy', pp. 134–35; Powicke, *The Loss of Normandy*, pp. 261–63; Sadourny, 'L'Époque communale', pp. 75–76; Sadourny, 'Rouen face à Philippe Auguste', pp. 278–80; Warren, *King John*, pp. 97–99. Many of the leading citizens were involved: Sadourny, 'Les Grandes familles rouennaises', pp. 267–68.

[80] On the various sieges and Rouennais loyalties, see Chéruel, *Histoire de Rouen pendant l'époque communale*, I, 15, 23–30, 45–46, and 86–93; Powicke, *The Loss of Normandy*, pp. 96–98.

John's Relationship with Rouen: Royal Support for the Church

One final aspect of John's interaction with Rouen remains to be considered: his grants to the city's churches and churchmen. Here, it may be argued that the King sought to use his largesse to strengthen his bond with the city in which he had been inaugurated as Duke. This, in turn, is likely to have promoted the goodwill of the leading churchmen and citizens, demonstrating the interrelationship between Angevin government and royal piety.

Amongst the churchmen of Rouen, the Archbishop, Walter of Coutances — described by Musset as the archetypal Anglo-Norman prelate — was a regular witness to royal charters in 1199 and 1200 and received many royal letters and charters between 1199 and 1203.[81] Given the length of Walter's archiepiscopate (1184–1207), it is unsurprising that a number of documents concerned the events of previous reigns, for instance the disputed exchange of the manor of Andely with Richard I so that that King could build Château-Gaillard. A charter issued in June 1200 shows that the Archbishop received, amongst other lands, a mill and fishpond at Rouen, both potentially lucrative sources of income.[82] He may also have been involved in arrangements for the city's defence in 1203–04.[83] Archbishop Walter of Coutance's involvement with the royal court naturally extended beyond matters relating to the seat of his see. For instance, he was the regular recipient of papal letters relating to John's affairs. These covered subjects ranging from the efforts to enforce the payment of the dowry of Richard I's widow, Berengaria, to enquiries as to whether those who had sworn to go on crusade were so integral to the conduct of John's government that their vows should be commuted.[84] Letters to the Archbishop also

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[81] A number of these documents are discussed below. See also Musset, 'Rouen au temps des Francs et sous les ducs', p. 52. For an account of Walter's career, see Turner, 'Coutances, Walter de'.

[82] *Rotuli chartarum in Turri Londinensi asservati*, ed. by Hardy, p. 70a. In March 1200, Pope Innocent III had authorized the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Bishops of Lincoln and Ely, to hear the case between John and the Archbishop of Rouen: *The Letters of Pope Innocent III*, ed. by Cheney and Cheney, p. 36, no. 209. See also the undated documents enrolled on the Norman Rolls: *Rotuli Normanniae in Turri Londinensi asservati*, ed. by Hardy, pp. 1–3. On the exchange and the profit the Archbishop made from it, see Power, 'The Norman Church', pp. 212–13, 217, where Power argues that 'if Philip Augustus had truly been out to woo the Norman Church, one might have expected him to tempt the archbishop of Rouen with promises of a more favourable settlement over Les Andelys'. See also Powicke, *The Loss of Normandy*, pp. 113–16; Powicke, 'King Philip Augustus and the Archbishop of Rouen'.

[83] Power, 'Angevin Normandy', p. 80; Power, 'The Norman Church', p. 214.

[84] *The Letters of Pope Innocent III*, ed. by Cheney and Cheney, pp. 37, no. 219; 58, no. 356.

indicate papal support for John in his conflict with Philip Augustus. In May 1202, Walter of Coutances was ordered to impose ecclesiastical sanctions on those who had rebelled against John in Normandy or his other continental lands.[85] In addition, Archbishop Walter played a role in one of the major ecclesiastical disputes of the early years of John's reign: the contested election to the bishopric of Sées. Both John and the canons of Sées supported successive candidates of their own choosing. The Archbishop of Rouen appears to have adopted a position of neutrality, until Silvester, the ultimately successful choice of the canons, sought consecration at the hands of the Archbishop of Sens, threatening a right traditionally held by Rouen's Archbishop.[86]

Throughout the period, John provided support for the churches of Rouen and its environs. In September 1199 he confirmed his father's grant to the Grandmontine monks, made in 'his lordship next to Rouen' and probably referring to the Grandmontine foundation of Nôtre-Dame du Parc, attributed to Henry II. The grant provided revenue from Rouen to pay for food for the monks.[87] Later, in the fourth regnal year, the dependable Jean Luce and Laurence du Donjon were ordered to provide the monks with two measures of good wheat.[88] Another house just outside the city, the leper hospital of Mont-aux-Malades, refounded by Henry II, was granted a charter stating that the church and the lepers who lived there were under the King's protection and, in confirmation of letters patent of John's father, were only to be prosecuted in the royal court or that of the King's justiciar.[89] In the grants to both houses, John displayed an important element of his piety: a desire to associate himself with the religious grants of his predecessors and to accrue goodwill and prayers for his own salvation and that of his relatives.[90]

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[85] *Selected Letters of Pope Innocent III*, ed. by Cheney and Semple, p. 40, no. 14; *The Letters of Pope Innocent III*, ed. by Cheney and Cheney, p. 66, no. 409; see also p. 173, no. 1039, a letter to Archbishop Walter's successor, Robert, probably dating to December 1215. Although the text no longer survives the letter is likely to have been on the subject of not providing aid to John's opponents.

[86] For John's letters in relation to the dispute, see *Rotuli litterarum patentium in Turri Londinensi asservati*, ed. by Hardy, pp. 16a–b, 22a–b, and 33b. For a full account of the dispute, see Packard, 'King John and the Norman Church', pp. 20–24, with clarifications to Packard's argument in Power, 'The Norman Church', pp. 214–15.

[87] 'in dominico suo juxta Rothomagum': *Rotuli chartarum in Turri Londinensi asservati*, ed. by Hardy, p. 21b. For discussion of the complex documentary evidence relating to the foundation of this house, see Hallam, 'Henry II, Richard I and the Order of Grandmont', pp. 179–80.

[88] *Rotuli Normanniae in Turri Londinensi asservati*, ed. by Hardy, p. 59.

[89] *Rotuli chartarum in Turri Londinensi asservati*, ed. by Hardy, p. 76a.

[90] John's piety forms one of the principal themes of my research. See Webster, 'King John's Piety'.

Turning to churches within Rouen, John issued a number of documents to the abbot and monks of the monastery of Saint-Ouen. In an undated letter of about April 1203 the house was taken into the King's protection, and two months later, in a rather cryptically worded grant, the Abbot was repaid 100 marks he had loaned to the King 'for our great business'.[91] However, the abbot and monks of Saint-Ouen were clearly already wary of John's prospects of retaining control of Normandy and of the potential impact of its loss on the monastery's ability to maintain control over its lands in England. In July 1202, the abbey agreed to lease its English possessions to the Bishop of London, and in May 1205, when John's loss of Normandy had moved from possibility to reality, the lease was renegotiated and enrolled on the Charter Roll.[92] Powicke describes the latter document in terms of a necessary precaution taken by the Norman clergy to avert the confiscation of their English lands.[93] Nevertheless, the agreement's origins also indicate that there were those in the duchy of Normandy, and in Rouen, the city John favoured most, who sought to pre-empt the potential consequences of the Duke losing his inheritance to the French King. John may have commanded the loyalty of the residents of Rouen, but this did not prevent them from taking steps to look after themselves.

Finally, let us return to Rouen Cathedral, where John was acclaimed as Duke in 1199. Roger of Howden's account of the ceremony, probably written in the months that followed, in a period in which the author 'liked what he saw of John', suggests none of the levity ascribed to the new Duke by the *Life of St Hugh of Lincoln*.[94] Indeed, Howden emphasizes the solemn oath sworn by John:

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[91] 'ad magnum negocium nostrum': *Rotuli litterarum patentium in Turri Londinensi asservati*, ed. by Hardy, pp. 27b, 30b. I have been unable to identify the 'great business' to which the second letter refers.

[92] Power, *The Norman Frontier*, p. 327; *Rotuli chartarum in Turri Londinensi asservati*, ed. by Hardy, p. 151b. Power cites Rouen, Arch. dép. de la Seine-Maritime, 14 H 910, and whilst I have been unable to consult these records in situ, the records of the bishops of London also preserve evidence of these transactions: *English Episcopal Acta 26*, ed. by Johnson, pp. 168–72, nos 199–201. I am grateful to Professor Power for drawing the sequence of documents to my attention.

[93] Powicke, *The Loss of Normandy*, p. 290 and n. 53.

[94] Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, ed. by Stubbs, IV, 87–88; Gillingham, 'Historians Without Hindsight', pp. 12–13. The Dunstable annalist noted that the sword and standard were conferred on John at Rouen, with no suggestion of any improper conduct by the new Duke: 'Annales Prioratus de Dunstaplia', ed. by Luard, p. 27.

in the presence of the clergy and the people, upon the relics of the saints and the Holy Evangelists, that he would preserve the Holy Church and its dignitaries inviolate, with good faith and without evil intent, and would exercise strict justice, and destroy unjust laws, and establish good ones.[95]

John was clearly aware of the significance of this inauguration and the church in which it had been carried out. In 1200, in granting the Archbishop of Rouen the right to hold pleas of the sword (traditionally a ducal privilege), John's charter stated that

we ought to venerate the church of Rouen above all other churches of Normandy, and to love and keep it as the mother of all the churches of Normandy and as the one from which we and our predecessors received the honour of our dukedom.[96]

He supported this church throughout the period. In a confirmation charter issued on 25 September 1200, he responded to a petition made by his mother, Eleanor of Aquitaine, and confirmed a series of churches to 'God and the Blessed Mary of Rouen', that is, to the city's cathedral, to the Archbishop and his successors, and to the 'canons serving God' there. The charter was made for John's salvation, and for the souls of his father, his brother Henry, the Young King, and his ancestors, in pure and perpetual alms. It noted that the church was the Young King's burial place.[97] This is not the place to debate John's piety,

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[95] 'et ipse dux coram clero et populo juravit super reliquias sanctorum, et super sacrosancta evangelia, quod ipse sanctam ecclesiam, et dignitates illius, bona fide et sine malo ingenio servabit illaesas, et rectam justitiam exercebit, et leges iniquas destruet, et bonas instituet': Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, ed. by Stubbs, IV, 87–88. For the translation, see *The Annals of Roger de Hoveden*, trans. by Riley, II, 456–57. A similar account is included in Roger of Wendover, *Rogeri de Wendover liber qui dicitur Flores Historiarum*, ed. by Hewlett, I, 286–87.

[96] 'ecclesia Rothomagensis supra omnes alias [ecclesias] Normanniae venerari debemus, diligere et tueri sicut matrem omnium ecclesiarum Normanniae et sicut illam unde ducatus nostri honorem accepimus et antecessores nostri': *Rotuli Normanniae in Turri Londinensi asservati*, ed. by Hardy, pp. 2–3, translated in Power, *The Norman Frontier*, p. 62. For a summary of the privileges traditionally held by the dukes in Rouen, see Chéruel, *Histoire de Rouen pendant l'époque communale*, I, 8; Bates, 'Rouen from 900 to 1204', p. 5.

[97] 'Deo et Beate Marie Rothomagensi [...] et canonicis in predicta ecclesia Deo servientibus': *Rotuli chartarum in Turri Londinensi asservati*, ed. by Hardy, pp. 75b–76a. In discussion of this paper following its presentation at the International Medieval Congress at Leeds in July 2007, it was suggested to me that the reference to Henry the Young King may be linked to the twelfth-century cult of lineage. I propose to research this area more fully in the future, but it should be noted that family piety was certainly an important element of King John's piety: see Webster, 'King John's Piety', pp. 48–61. For references to the death and burial of the Young King, see Power, *The Norman Frontier*, p. 328, n. 148.

but these forms of pious wording are typical of his largesse to religious houses, indicate a desire for prayers on behalf of the King and the relatives named, and in this case formed part of a programme of family commemoration.[98] In terms of the Duke's relationship with the city, Rouen Cathedral, as burial place of the Young King's body and Richard I's heart, had some claim to rank alongside Fontevraud as a ducal mausoleum. In this context, it is interesting that when John's sister Joan died at the royal court at Rouen in 1199, having travelled there from the county of Toulouse to seek her brother's aid, she was initially buried in Rouen Cathedral, before being transferred to Fontevraud by her mother, Eleanor of Aquitaine, where she was reburied in the nuns' cemetery.[99]

John's largesse was also inspired by the fortunes of Rouen Cathedral. Roger of Howden relates that on Easter Day 1200, 'nearly the whole of the city of Rouen was destroyed by fire, together with the church of the archiepiscopal see, and many other churches besides'.[100] Lindy Grant argues that it is unlikely that the cathedral was totally destroyed, but it certainly seems to have sustained sufficient damage to inspire a generous response from John.[101] The confirmation charter of 25 September was granted the day after the King ordered 2000 *liv. ang.* to be given to the church of Rouen for repairs, to be paid in four instalments.[102] Having set this example, in January 1201 John issued letters of protection (to last two years) to the cathedral's envoys, stating that they were to be well received and that alms were to be given for the repair of their church, mentioning its dedication to the Blessed Virgin Mary, his own devotion, and the cathedral's status as 'mother of the churches of Normandy'.[103] Similar let-

[98] On the wording of John's largesse to religious houses, see Webster, 'King John's Piety', pp. 31–48. For Angevin commemoration of the Young King at Rouen, see *Calendar of Documents Preserved in France*, ed. by Round, pp. 10–11 (nos 39–41), 12–13 (nos 46–52), 15 (no. 58), 16–17 (nos 61–62).

[99] Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, ed. by Stubbs, iv, 96; Turner, *Eleanor of Aquitaine*, pp. 285–86. Joan was admitted into the Fontevraudine order on her deathbed.

[100] 'combusta est fere tota civitas Rothomagi, cum ecclesia sedis archiepiscopalis et aliis ecclesiis multis': Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, ed. by Stubbs, iv, 116. For the translation, see *The Annals of Roger de Hoveden*, trans. by Riley, ii, 481. Chéruel notes the cathedral chronicle's account of the destruction of the bells, books, and ornaments of its treasury. Chéruel, *Histoire de Rouen pendant l'époque communale*, i, 79. See also Powicke, *The Loss of Normandy*, p. 262, n. 72; Webster, 'King John's Piety', pp. 107–08.

[101] Grant, 'Rouen Cathedral', p. 60.

[102] *Rotuli Normanniae in Turri Londinensi asservati*, ed. by Hardy, p. 33.

[103] 'mater ecclesiarum Normanniae': *Rotuli chartarum in Turri Londinensi asservati*, ed. by Hardy, p. 100b.

ters were issued in October 1202, to run for two years from the feast of the Purification of the Virgin in the fourth regnal year (2 February 1203), suggesting that this constituted a renewal and extension of the 1201 grant.[104] In April 1203, the King ordered that the remaining 460 *liv. ang.* of his grant for the fabric of the church be paid.[105] Further monies followed after John left the duchy: in 1204 the King made a payment of 75 *livres* of the 300 *liv. ang.* that was promised for the use (or works) of the church of Rouen.[106]

John's largesse was not apparently confined to support for restoration work. The charter of 25 September 1200 confirmed arrangements made in the early stages of his career as Count of Mortain, when he had granted Rouen Cathedral the collegial chapel of Blyth (Nottinghamshire) with its associated chapels and churches. This was to be used to provide two prebends in the cathedral and to fund anniversary Masses after John's death. Nicholas Vincent has shown that this grant was a confirmation of an earlier donation by Henry II to Walter of Coutances, made before the latter became Archbishop of Rouen in 1184. Vincent argues that John was taking the opportunity to buy Walter's political support.[107] This may be so, but the grant also provides important early evidence for John's piety and indicates the potential origins of his long-standing relationship with Rouen Cathedral. After 1199, Rouen and its cathedral can also be associated with John's interest in the cult of the saints. In September 1203, in an apparent attempt to draw Philip Augustus away from the Seine valley, John launched an attack on the Breton town of Dol. The cathedral there was sacked and burned, and the relics of St Samson and St Magloire were rescued from the hands of the attackers and given to Rouen Cathedral.[108]

Overall, John was keen to support one of the principal churches of Normandy: the seat of the archbishopric, the site of his inauguration as Duke, the burial place of his brother Henry's body and his brother Richard's heart, and a possible centre of John's Marian devotions. In the latter context, John often spent major feast days in Rouen, and in 1199 he was there on the feast of the

[104] *Rotuli litterarum patentium in Turri Londinensi asservati*, ed. by Hardy, p. 19a.

[105] *Rotuli Normanniae in Turri Londinensi asservati*, ed. by Hardy, p. 86.

[106] *Rotuli de liberate ac de misis et praestitis*, ed. by Hardy, p. 80.

[107] Vincent, 'Jean comte de Mortain', pp. 43–44; John's grants to Norman religious establishments before 1199 are discussed in full.

[108] Powicke, *The Loss of Normandy*, pp. 165–66. Powicke's source is a charter by which the Archbishop of Rouen restored the relics in 1223. The two saints had been at the forefront of bringing Christianity to Brittany in the sixth century: Farmer, *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints*, pp. 322, 437–38.

city's patron, St Ouen.[109] Even in relation to the cathedral, however, evidence can be found of the fear that John could inspire in his subjects. In July 1203, an agreement was drawn up between the King and Master Ivo the crossbowman, who had incurred John's anger and fled to the sanctuary of Rouen Cathedral. He was restored to royal service through the mediation of the Archbishop.[110] It was precisely the sort of mistrust that lay behind this arrangement that contributed to John's failure to defend his inheritance.

Conclusion

This study opened with Adam of Eynsham's portrayal of John as a ruler indifferent to the ceremonial of inauguration as Duke of Normandy, suggestive of a king whose lack of concern contributed to the tribulations he later faced. However, the evidence for John's presence in Rouen, his interaction with the city, its officials, and its citizens, and his largesse to its churches suggests a conclusion in stark contrast to this judgement. The royal itinerary shows John to have been committed to the duchy of Normandy. As ducal capital, Rouen played a central part in John's governance of the Angevin Empire prior to 1204. He was a regular visitor to the city and its environs, and when his inheritance came under threat, it was the Norman capital which he used as his base for the defence of the duchy. His dealings with the city reveal the mechanics of Angevin rule. John expected the civic officers and churchmen to play a role in the administration of government, but this was not without its rewards, seen in grants of revenues and rights within Rouen and through royal concern to safeguard trade and the provision of food in the city. In addition, John reinforced his bond with Rouen through his support for its churches, both within and outside the city. This was especially true of the cathedral, where his investiture had heralded the beginning of his rule as Duke in 1199 and which he provided for throughout his active reign in the duchy.

When John left Normandy for what turned out to be the final time in December 1203, he undoubtedly intended to return to the duchy and to continue his patronage of Rouen and its traders, churches, and churchmen. This was the case even after the city fell to King Philip Augustus of France in June 1204, and it remained John's ambition for many years to come. He demon-

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[109] Webster, 'King John's Piety', p. 84.

[110] *Rotuli litterarum patentium in Turri Londinensi asservati*, ed. by Hardy, p. 31b; Powicke, *The Loss of Normandy*, p. 226.

strated this ongoing association in a number of ways. He ordered the guardians of the English ports not to molest the merchants of Rouen or to impose major taxes on them.[111] In addition, Rouen Cathedral was the first of the Norman cathedral communities to recover its lands in England when they were taken into the King's hand as part of the seizure of church property that accompanied the imposition of the general interdict of 1208. In giving back the land, the King remitted the fine that normally accompanied such restitution.[112] An awareness of John's attachment perhaps passed to his son, Henry III, who wrote of his 'sincere affection' for the cathedral community in a grant of 1246.[113] Finally, in a letter issued in the final months of the reign (in June 1216), the King granted safe conduct to the Archbishop's servants, who sought the right to collect the dues of the dean and chapter throughout England.[114] Even in the midst of a civil war that was in large part the result of his thwarted aims, John apparently attempted to respond to the needs of Normandy and the church and citizens of the ducal capital.

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[111] Chéruel, *Histoire de Rouen pendant l'époque communale*, I, 113–14.

[112] Peltzer, 'The Slow Death of the Angevin Empire', pp. 560–61.

[113] 'sinceram affectionem': Peltzer, 'The Slow Death of the Angevin Empire', p. 570.

[114] *Rotuli litterarum patentium in Turri Londinensi asservati*, ed. by Hardy, p. 185b.

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The Care of the Sick and Needy in Twelfth- and Thirteenth-Century Rouen

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Wellcome Library, London

There were numerous categories of the sick and needy in medieval cities, ranging from the acutely sick, lepers, and the blind to the indigent, the elderly, prisoners, orphaned or abandoned children, and the mentally ill. As the second largest city in medieval France, Rouen sheltered large numbers of such people, some of whom would have migrated there from the countryside seeking employment; perhaps others came specifically hoping to receive charitable care.[1] The needy were provided for in a variety of contexts, ranging from hospitals and *leprosaria* (leper hospitals) to almshouses; there were also specific locations for the distribution of alms. This essay will examine arrangements for the sick and needy in twelfth- and thirteenth-century Rouen and will consider how this provision sheds light on *rouennais* society. Given that the kings of England (before 1204), the French kings (after 1204), and Rouen's leading citizens were major benefactors of the city's needy, it will consider how charity led the affluent to forge links with the sick and destitute and how such links influenced the dynamics of Rouen's society.

The discussion will begin by considering who the sick and needy of twelfth- and thirteenth-century Rouen were, and which groups were deemed particularly

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[1] Paris was the largest city of France, and indeed western Europe, in the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. On poverty and charity in Paris, see Farmer, *Surviving Poverty in Medieval Paris* (on pp. 10 and 11–38, Farmer discusses the link between urban migration and poverty), and Geremek, *The Margins of Society in Late Medieval Paris*, trans. by Birrell. No comparable study of the poor of medieval Rouen has yet been published.

worthy of assistance. Then, the chapter will address how the sick were cared for in hospitals, *leprosaria*, and monastic infirmaries. The analysis will focus on three of the city's most important charitable institutions: the hospital of La Madeleine for the sick poor of both sexes, the mixed *leprosarium* of Mont-aux-Malades, and the female *leprosarium* of Salle-aux-Puelles.[2] It will also examine provision for the sick at the Benedictine abbey of Saint-Ouen, one of Rouen's oldest and largest monasteries. This second section will make particular use of the visitation records of Eudes Rigaud, Archbishop of Rouen (1248–75), which are rich in information about daily life in the monastic houses, hospitals, and *leprosaria* of the ecclesiastical province of Rouen between 1248 and 1269.[3] The third part will examine provision for Rouen's poor, in terms of the foundation of almshouses, the distribution of alms, and other forms of charity.[4] This section indicates that the upper echelons of society, from royalty and aristocracy to the burgess elite, were genuinely concerned about the problems associated with urban poverty and the needs of the poor in Rouen. It thus sheds light on the structure and dynamics of *rouennais* society. Although there was a wide discrepancy between the affluent and the poor in Rouen, in terms of wealth, living standards, and access to medical care, different social groups encountered each other and interacted through commerce, religious life, and the practice of charity.

Which Sick, Which Needy?

Medieval charity was shaped by the Bible's six corporal works of mercy: feeding the hungry, giving drink to the thirsty, granting hospitality to strangers, clothing the naked, visiting the sick, and visiting prisoners (Matthew 25. 31–46).[5] Yet finely tuned distinctions were made between different categories of the poor in the Middle Ages, most obviously between those who were consid-

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[2] There were other, smaller *leprosaria* around Rouen, at Bois-Guillaume (to the north), Saint-Léger du Bourg-Denis (to the east), Répainville (immediately north-east of Rouen), Darnétal (further eastwards), Sotteville-lès-Rouen (to the south), and Saint-Sever (immediately south of the river Seine). See Deschamps, 'Léproseries et maladreries rouennaises', pp. 31–32.

[3] Eudes Rigaud, *Regestrum visitationum archiepiscopi Rothomagensis*, ed. by Bonnin; Eudes Rigaud, *The Register*, trans. by Brown. A new online edition of Eudes Rigaud's *Register* (BnF, MS lat. 1245) is currently in preparation at the University of Rouen.

[4] This essay will not discuss the charitable activities of Rouen's confraternities in detail. On the Norman confraternities, see Vincent, *Des charités bien ordonnées*.

[5] A seventh corporal work of mercy, burying the dead, was added in the Middle Ages.

ered deserving or undeserving of receiving assistance. In general, the 'true' (or 'deserving') poor, the 'poor of Christ', those who were sick, disabled, orphaned, elderly, or widowed, were distinguished from the 'false' (or 'undeserving') poor, idle beggars who were believed to be capable of working but did not seek employment.[6] Those whose identity or behaviour conflicted with mainstream Christianity, such as Jews, Muslims, and heretics, were also considered undeserving.[7] Mendicant clerics writing about the poor distinguished between the working and the non-working poor and included themselves in this model, as they adopted a life of voluntary poverty that entailed manual work and begging.[8] However, these distinctions did not necessarily favour the 'deserving' needy: Sharon Farmer argues that 'cultural elites [...] distrusted all of the poor, especially those who were male and unable to work'.[9]

As one would expect, members of Rouen's large Jewish community appear to have been excluded from access to care in the city's charitable institutions, though research is still needed on how the community itself catered for its own sick and needy members.[10] Given that the community had a well-developed infrastructure, with a synagogue and rabbinical school in the area of the rue aux Juifs and a cemetery outside the city (the clos aux Juifs), it is plausible that it provided institutional charity in some form.[11] With regard to lepers, François-Olivier Touati has discussed evidence for a Jewish leper community in thirteenth-century Provins (in the département of Seine-et-Marne). Since evidence for the existence of this group is limited to only a handful of documentary references, it is plausible that there might have been a similar community of leprous Jews in Rouen, about which no evidence now survives.[12]

There appear to have been different criteria for access to hospitals (for the sick poor) and *leprosaria* in twelfth- and thirteenth-century Rouen. It was probably necessary for lepers entering the city's two major *leprosaria*, who became

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[6] Geremek, *The Margins of Society in Late Medieval Paris*, trans. by Birrell, p. 169; Mollat, *Les Pauvres au Moyen Âge*, pp. 11–12, 17–18.

[7] Brodman, *Charity and Religion in Medieval Europe*, p. 28.

[8] Farmer, *Surviving Poverty in Medieval Paris*, p. 3.

[9] Farmer, *Surviving Poverty in Medieval Paris*, p. 10.

[10] For the current state of knowledge about Rouen's Jewish community, see Elma Brenner and Leonie Hicks's essay in this volume.

[11] On Rouen's Jewish community, see Golb, *Les Juifs de Rouen au Moyen Âge*; Golb, *The Jews in Medieval Normandy*.

[12] Touati, '*Domus Judaeorum leprosorum*', pp. 97–98.

permanent members of these monastic communities, to have financial backing. In the nineteenth century, Léon Le Grand underlined that medieval hospitals and *leprosaria* were different types of institution because, while the sick were only temporary visitors to the former, they became permanent residents of the latter.[13] Since lepers were full, established members of the monastic community like the non-leprous religious who lived alongside them, it may have been considered particularly important for them to be of the appropriate social status and moral standing.

In contrast, as far as we know, La Madeleine admitted the sick poor in general, although the permanent Augustinian canons of the community were undoubtedly of high religious status. The hospital also received abandoned infants (who were then usually sent to wet nurses in the countryside) and pregnant women.[14] Access to the *leprosaria* of Mont-aux-Malades and Salle-aux-Puelles, however, was certainly restricted. The leprous had to offer an entrance gift to be admitted to the community at Mont-aux-Malades. Though this practice was forbidden in May 1237 by Peter de Collemezzo, Archbishop of Rouen (1236–44), it subsequently continued or was revived, despite the Archbishop's prohibition.[15] By the end of the fourteenth century, Mont-aux-Malades catered specifically for lepers from twenty-one of Rouen's thirty-one parishes, although it is not clear whether this arrangement was already in place in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.[16]

Salle-aux-Puelles only admitted leprous women; according to tradition, admission was further restricted to women of high social status (many of whom would have had financial support).[17] In May 1266, one of the sisters at Salle-aux-Puelles, Isabelle of Avènes, was referred to as a 'domicella' (noble young woman), corroborating this traditional view.[18] In February of the same year

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[13] *Statuts d'hôtels-Dieu et de léproseries*, ed. by Le Grand, pp. xxv–xxvi.

[14] *Documents concernant les pauvres de Rouen*, ed. by Panel, i, pp. xxviii–xxix, 3.

[15] See, for example, an entrance gift by Peter de Saint-Gille in 1312, entering Mont-aux-Malades 'by the necessity of the disease with which I was taken' ('pour la necessite de la madie [*sic*] dont jestois ocupe') (Rouen, Arch. dép. de la Seine-Maritime, 25 HP 1, folder OO, doc. xvi; Tabuteau, 'Les Léproseries dans la Seine-Maritime', p. 118).

[16] Paris, Arch. nat., *K23, dossier 13, no. 14 (charter of Charles VI, King of France (1380–1422), 18 June 1393); Langlois, *Histoire du prieuré du Mont-aux-Malades-lès-Rouen*, pp. 117–18 (p. 118, n. 1).

[17] Duchemin, *Petit-Quevilly et le prieuré de Saint-Julien*, pp. 230–31.

[18] Eudes Rigaud, *Regestrum visitationum archiepiscopi Rothomagensis*, ed. by Bonnin, p. 546; Eudes Rigaud, *The Register*, trans. by Brown, p. 624. On Isabelle of Avènes, also see Eudes

(1265/66), the community at Salle-aux-Puelles was conserving surplus food for a leprous woman at Moulineaux, a nearby village of which the *leprosarium* held the patronage of the parish church.[19] The fact that this local woman had not become a member of the Salle-aux-Puelles community herself supports the impression that this was an elite institution from which lower-status women (or women lacking the required funds) were excluded.

Medieval confraternities were the most obviously discriminatory bodies in terms of the distribution of assistance to the sick and needy, since they prioritized (and often provided exclusively for) their own members. The charity they offered included help to members departing on pilgrimage, those suffering from leprosy, and those affected by a natural disaster such as fire or flooding. They also arranged proper funerary services for deceased members.[20] The confraternity of Saint-Romain in Rouen Cathedral, established in 1292, provided for poor clerics who 'had so much fallen into the misfortune of poverty that their own resources were not sufficient for their sustenance, nor at the end of their lives did they have that from which their funeral rites could be completed according to the custom of the church of Rouen'.[21] However, it was expected that these men should be morally deserving: they were those 'who, at the time that they lived, had been of praiseworthy life and honest conversation'.[22]

The Care of the Sick: Hospitals and leprosaria

Rouen's three major charitable institutions were all shaped by the Augustinian movement of the twelfth century, supported particularly by Hugh of Amiens,

Rigaud, *Regestrum visitationum archiepiscopi Rothomagensis*, ed. by Bonnin, p. 538, and Eudes Rigaud, *The Register*, trans. by Brown, pp. 614–15.

[19] Eudes Rigaud, *Regestrum visitationum archiepiscopi Rothomagensis*, ed. by Bonnin, p. 538; Eudes Rigaud, *The Register*, trans. by Brown, pp. 614–15. According to Fournée, 'Les Maladreries et les vocables de leurs chapelles', p. 106, the chapel at Moulineaux was donated to Salle-aux-Puelles by Henry II. The chapel was made into a parish church by Archbishop Peter de Collemezzo in September 1240: Rouen, Arch. dép. de la Seine-Maritime, H-Dépôt 1, F1.

[20] See Vincent, *Des charités bien ordonnées*, pp. 159–67.

[21] 'ad tante devenerant infortunium paupertatis, quod ad eorum sustentationem non suppetebant proprie facultates, nec in fine vite sue habebant unde fierent eorum exequie secundum consuetudinem Rothomagensi ecclesie': Statutes of the confraternity of Saint-Romain in Rouen Cathedral, March 1292, quoted in Vincent, *Des charités bien ordonnées*, p. 160, n. 68.

[22] 'qui, tempore quo vivebant, fuerant vite laudabili et conversationis honeste': Statutes of the confraternity of Saint-Romain, quoted in Vincent, *Des charités bien ordonnées*, p. 160, n. 68.

Archbishop of Rouen (1130–64).[23] The Augustinian Rule emphasized the need to minister to the sick, and many hospitals and *leprosaria* established in twelfth- and thirteenth-century western Europe were Augustinian foundations.[24] The main hospital of Rouen, La Madeleine, was founded in the eleventh century (or possibly even earlier), presumably by the archbishop and cathedral canons, to the north of the cathedral in the canons' cloister (mirroring the location of hospitals in major cities elsewhere, such as Paris and Siena, adjacent to the cathedral).[25] Construction work might well have been carried out in conjunction with work on the Romanesque cathedral, dedicated in 1063. In *c.* 1154, the hospital was organized into an Augustinian community dedicated to St Mary Magdalene.[26] The permanent hospital community consisted of a prior, a prioress, canons, and lay brothers and sisters. In March 1267/68, the hospital received relics of St Mary Magdalene from King Louis IX (1226–70), delivered by the King's friend, Archbishop Eudes Rigaud.[27]

The *leprosarium* of Mont-aux-Malades was established in the first part of the twelfth century on a hill north-west of Rouen, in the modern-day commune of Mont-Saint-Aignan (see Map 8 in Fanny Madeline's essay, above). The earliest document associated with Mont-aux-Malades is a charter of Geoffrey of Anjou, issued as Duke of Normandy (1144–50), reconfirming the grant by Henry I (King of England, 1100–35, and Duke of Normandy, 1106–35) of 40 *sous* a month 'to the lepers of Rouen'.[28] An Augustinian community was in place by the 1160s, when Nicholas, Prior of Mont-aux-Malades, corresponded with his friend Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury (1162–70), during Becket's exile from England (1164–70).[29] Salle-aux-Puelles, the *leprosarium*

[23] Arnoux, 'Les Origines et le développement du mouvement canonial', p. 63; Waldman, 'Hugh "of Amiens", Archbishop of Rouen', p. 74.

[24] 'The Rule of Augustine', ed. by van Bavel, pp. 15, 21. Also see Touati, '"Aime et fais ce que tu veux"'.

[25] Eude, *Le Prieuré Sainte-Madeleine de l'Hôtel-Dieu*, pp. [2], [3].

[26] Mathieu Arnoux dates the establishment of the Augustinian priory of La Madeleine to before 1248: Arnoux, 'Les Origines et le développement du mouvement canonial', p. 22.

[27] Eudes Rigaud, *Regestrum visitationum archiepiscopi Rothomagensis*, ed. by Bonnin, p. 597; Eudes Rigaud, *The Register*, trans. by Brown, p. 687.

[28] 'leprosis Rothomagi': Paris, Arch. nat., *K23, no. 15 22. Printed in *Regesta regum Anglo-Normannorum*, ed. by Davis and others, iii, 269, no. 730, and Haskins, *Norman Institutions*, p. 142 and plate 7a.

[29] For the correspondence between Prior Nicholas and Becket, see *The Correspondence of Thomas Becket*, ed. and trans. by Duggan, i, 158–69, 342–47, 382–89, 548–53, 622–23 (nos

for women, was the latest of the three foundations. Between April 1185 and January 1188, King Henry II of England (1154–89) donated 'to the leprous women of Quevilly' a manor house and other houses from his royal manor at Le Petit-Quevilly (south-west of Rouen), with an income of 200 *livres* of Anjou per year from the *vicomté* of Rouen (see Map 8 in Madeline, above).[30] The leprous women also appear to have received the royal chapel, at that time dedicated to the Virgin Mary but subsequently rededicated to St Julian.[31] By the mid-thirteenth century, Salle-aux-Puelles was an Augustinian community headed by a prior and a prioress.[32]

The topography of these institutions is important, since it marks the locations at which the sick were provided for and sheds light on the extent to which the leprous and other sick people were marginalized or integrated in medieval Rouen.[33] Like almost all medieval *leprosaria*, Mont-aux-Malades and Salle-aux-Puelles were located outside the city walls, in accordance with the biblical instruction that lepers should live 'without the camp' (Leviticus 13. 46). It is not clear, however, that the positioning of these institutions marked the exclusion of lepers, nor that it reflects fears about contagion. The location of Mont-aux-Malades might in fact have been chosen with a view to the physical welfare of the lepers — its hilltop site was tranquil and removed from the dirt, noise, and crowding of the city centre and provided clean, fresh air. Salle-aux-Puelles was established on a royal manor which, although located on the opposite side of the river Seine from Rouen, was associated with the royal court and was not

41, 83, 94, 113, 132). On the two men's friendship, probably formed when Becket lay ill at the church of Saint-Gervais, Rouen, not far from Mont-aux-Malades, in the summer of 1161, see Langlois, *Histoire du prieuré du Mont-aux-Malades-lès-Rouen*, p. 20; Barlow, *Thomas Becket*, p. 62; Chibnall, *The Empress Matilda*, p. 169. This friendship testifies to the cross-Channel links between high status churchmen in the Anglo-Norman realm in the twelfth century. On Prior Nicholas, also see *The Correspondence of Thomas Becket*, ed. and trans. by Duggan, II, 1378.

[30] 'feminis leprosis de Keuilli': Rouen, Arch. dép. de la Seine-Maritime, 27 HP 95 (fourteenth-century? copy made under the seal of the *mairie* of Rouen); *The Letters and Charters of King Henry II*, ed. by Vincent and others, no. 2533H (provisional document number); *Recueil des actes de Henri II*, ed. by Delisle and Berger, II, 296–97, no. 1178.

[31] On the foundation of Salle-aux-Puelles, see Farin, *Histoire de la ville de Rouen*, part V, II, 121–22; Duchemin, *Petit-Quevilly et le prieuré de Saint-Julien*, pp. 227–30.

[32] See Eudes Rigaud, *Regestrum visitationum archiepiscopi Rothomagensis*, ed. by Bonnin, p. 101; Eudes Rigaud, *The Register*, trans. by Brown, p. 115 (reference to the presence of the prior and prioress during Eudes Rigaud's visit to Salle-aux-Puelles in March 1248/49).

[33] I discuss the topography of Rouen's *leprosaria* in Brenner, 'Outside the City Walls', pp. 143–47.

far from the priory of Notre-Dame du Pré, a dependency of Le Bec-Hellouin. Mont-aux-Malades was the location of a popular fair in the first week of September each year, suggesting that people from Rouen and the surrounding area were not afraid to travel occasionally to this place where lepers resided.[34]

There were also leper communities geographically closer to the city of Rouen. In his will issued in 1304, Jean Hardi of the parish of Saint-Martin du Pont, Rouen, bequeathed 20 *sous* 'to the lepers of the four gates of Rouen'.[35] It appears that one of these communities was situated close to the porte Saint-Ouen (on the north-east boundary of the city), since in December 1283 the *bailli* of Rouen granted to the mayor and citizens 'the perch of the lepers' cabin situated at the porte Saint-Ouen, Rouen, between the wall of the enclosure of the town and the road to Saint-Nicaise, stretching from the pavement up to the wall of Saint-Ouen'.[36] The fact that this 'cabin' (*bordellum*) for lepers was sited close to both the city wall and the abbey wall underlines the fact that, though technically placed outside the city, the lepers staying there would have been extremely close to the people and activities within. These leper hostels at the city gates were presumably in place to prevent lepers from entering the city and temporarily to house those who had had to leave. They were thus places of transition and may themselves have been ephemeral in comparison to the two major *leprosaria* — they are indeed only known of through these two references of the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. The word *bordellum*, which also means 'brothel', implies a very basic form of dwelling, indicating that poor, lower-status lepers were accommodated in these hostels.

Above all, the shifting location of La Madeleine hospital sheds a different light on that of the *leprosaria* of Mont-aux-Malades and Salle-aux-Puelles. Having outgrown its original site adjacent to the cathedral, at some point,

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[34] On the fair of Saint-Gilles at Mont-aux-Malades, see Brenner, 'Outside the City Walls', pp. 151–54; Langlois, *Histoire du prieuré du Mont-aux-Malades-lès-Rouen*, pp. 12–15.

[35] 'leprosis quatuor portus Rothomagi': Rouen, Arch. dép. de la Seine-Maritime, G 1236 (will of Jean Hardi of the parish of Saint-Martin du Pont, Rouen, 1304). Although technically *portus* translates as 'port', with *porta* meaning 'gate', here the translation must be 'of the four gates of Rouen'.

[36] 'perchiam Bordelli leprosorum sitam ad portam sancti audoeni Rothomagi Inter muram clausturae villae ex una parte et cheminum quo Itur ad sanctum nigasium ex altera sicut se por-portat a pavimento usque ad murum sancti audoeni': Rouen, BM, Tiroir 324, folder 1, (eighteenth-century? copy of an act of the *bailli* of Rouen, December 1283, fol. 2ʳ). The full charter of December 1283 is printed in Chéruel, *Histoire de Rouen pendant l'époque communale*, I, 285–88.

probably during the second half of the thirteenth century, the hospital was moved to a place known as the Nid-de-Chien, on a wooded hill east of the city, beyond the Porte Saint-Hilaire in the small valley of Darnétal (in the parish of Saint-Gilles of Répainville). Then, probably in the latter part of the fourteenth century, the hospital was moved back into the city, to a large area immediately south of the cathedral, where the place de la Calende is located today.[37] Thus, although the hospital was closely associated with the cathedral, it also spent a period of time outside the city, in a location very similar to that of the *leprosaria*.[38] This might perhaps reflect the marginality of the sick poor at La Madeleine; however, it is more likely that other factors were at play, such as the availability of land outside the city, a factor which might also have influenced the siting of the two major *leprosaria*.

Spiritual Care

La Madeleine, Mont-aux-Malades, and Salle-aux-Puelles were religious institutions, and many of their activities focused on the care of the soul. Spiritual care was an integral aspect of treating the sick in the Middle Ages, since bodily and spiritual welfare were understood to be closely connected. Canon 22 of the Fourth Lateran Council (1215) instructed physicians to ensure that, before they treated a patient, the individual had first received the care of a priest. This was because 'sickness of the body may sometimes be the result of sin [...] when the cause ceases so does the effect'.[39] This instruction testifies to the belief that, for the body to recover, it was necessary for the soul to be in good health. Furthermore, a disease in the soul could cause bodily affliction, but medicine for the soul might result in the restoration of the body to good health.[40] Since medieval people recognized that sick people would often not recover, it was also considered important for proper religious facilities to be in place at hospitals, *leprosaria*, and monastic infirmaries, so that the dying could confess and receive the sacraments. Indeed, 'to expire soon after looking upon

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[37] Eude, *Le Prieuré Sainte-Madeleine de l'Hôtel-Dieu*, pp. [16]–[17], [19].

[38] Indeed, there were also small leper communities at Darnétal and Répainville (see note 2 above), to which John Hardi bequeathed 5 *sous* each in his will of 1304 (Rouen, Arch. dép. de la Seine-Maritime, G 1236).

[39] 'infirmitas corporalis nonnumquam ex peccato proveniat [...] cum causa cessante cesset effectus': *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, ed. and trans. by Tanner, I, 245.

[40] Horden, 'A Non-Natural Environment', pp. 141–43.

the Host, and especially after receiving the *viaticum*, constituted a particular blessing'.[41] The provision of spiritual care to lepers may have been viewed as especially important: François-Olivier Touati has argued that, from the late eleventh century, lepers were increasingly viewed as a group specially chosen by God to convert to the religious life and be saved.[42]

At La Madeleine, it appears that the canons and lay brothers were responsible for spiritual care, while the lay sisters undertook nursing duties (physical care).[43] In 1197, Guillaume de Turgis made a donation to the hospital brothers who 'sing divine service and administer the sacraments'.[44] Following his visit to La Madeleine on 23 September 1261, Eudes Rigaud was concerned that proper spiritual care was not being provided to the sick, through the fault of Peter, one of the brothers. The Archbishop complained that 'Brother Peter neglected to visit the sick and to hear their confessions [...] he sometimes did not wish to celebrate Mass in the place of the prior, however urgent the necessity might be'.[45] The reference to 'necessity' almost certainly designates the cases where the sacraments needed to be administered urgently to the dying. Brother Peter was behaving badly more generally: he was drunk and rebellious. Eudes particularly emphasized the implications of this brother's degeneracy for the spiritual care of the sick.

As permanent members of the monastic community, it is likely that the lepers of Mont-aux-Malades and Salle-aux-Puelles regularly confessed, prayed, witnessed, or participated in Mass, and listened to sermons and gospel readings. A letter written by Prior Nicholas of Mont-aux-Malades to his friend Thomas Becket, in the Christmas season of 1164, testifies to the devout activities of the community. Becket had recently gone into exile in France as a result of his dispute with King Henry II over the English church. Nicholas told him

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[41] Rawcliffe, *Leprosy in Medieval England*, p. 342.

[42] Touati, 'Les Léproseries aux XIIème et XIIIème siècles', pp. 3–19; Touati, *Maladie et société au Moyen Âge*, pp. 188–201.

[43] Eude, *Le Prieuré Sainte-Madeleine de l'Hôtel-Dieu*, pp. [4]–[5].

[44] 'chantent le service divin et administrent les sacrements': Eude, *Le Prieuré Sainte-Madeleine de l'Hôtel-Dieu*, p. [7]; *Hospices civils de Rouen*, p. 6. The quotation (in French rather than Latin) is taken from Eude; I have not yet been able to consult the original charter, which is presumably in Latin.

[45] 'frater Petrus negligebat visitare infirmos et eorum confessiones audire [...] nolebat aliquotiens celebrare pro priore, quantacunque necessitas immineret': Eudes Rigaud, *Regestrum visitationum archiepiscopi Rothomagensis*, ed. by Bonnin, p. 411; Eudes Rigaud, *The Register*, trans. by Brown, pp. 468–69.

Figure 23. Wall-paintings depicting the infancy of Christ in the rib-vault above the choir bay, church of Saint-Julien, Le Petit-Quevilly. The paintings, now restored, were created in the 1160s. (Photograph: Elma Brenner.)

that 'The congregation of Christ's poor [...] that Church with the whole of its spirit raised up to the Lord, hastens day and night to beg him to bestow tranquil liberty on his Church in your time'.[46] Lepers and other groups of the needy were often categorized as 'the poor of Christ', indicating that Nicholas was referring here not only to the Augustinian canons and lay staff, but also to the resident lepers. Indeed, he defined the community as a church of Christ's poor. This community was exhibiting particular religious zeal in praying for Becket's cause, an action which was of some political significance since it took place in a high-status Augustinian priory at Rouen, Henry II's chief city in Normandy and the centre of the Norman church.[47]

[46] 'Ecclesia pauperum Christi [...] ipsa siquidem, tota sui spiritus intentione suspense a Domino, noctibus et diebus impetrare festinat ut ecclesie sue uestris temporibus tranquillam tribuat libertatem': *The Correspondence of Thomas Becket*, ed. and trans. by Duggan, I, 158–69 (160–61), no. 41.

[47] Indeed, Prior Nicholas played a political role in the Becket dispute, meeting the

The chapel which served Salle-aux-Puelles still stands today and contains beautiful twelfth-century wall-paintings depicting the infancy of Christ (Figure 23). The chapel was not decorated for the benefit of the leprous women — the paintings were executed in the 1160s, before Henry II conferred his possessions at Quevilly on the community of female lepers.[48] Nonetheless, the chapel almost certainly marks the setting in which the women worshipped. In his statutes for Salle-aux-Puelles issued in August 1249, Eudes Rigaud instructed that the women should confess their sins frequently and should take communion a minimum of four times per year.[49] On his visit to Salle-aux-Puelles on 9 December 1258, Eudes observed that 'They always sing Matins in the middle of the night, for which the sisters get up when they wish to, but they cannot be compelled to do this'.[50] The performance of this midnight liturgy suggests that, as one would expect, the daily timetable at Salle-aux-Puelles was highly structured by religious observances. Nonetheless, participation in this particular liturgy, which involved interrupting the night's sleep, was voluntary as far as the leprous sisters were concerned. This indicates that the physical condition of the leprous women and the limitations that this might bring to bear on their spiritual observances were appreciated.

Bodily Care

Physical care is understood broadly in this chapter, in terms of not only interventions involving medical practitioners, but also measures aimed more generally at ensuring bodily well-being, particularly the provision of food, clothing, and shelter. There is frustratingly little information about medical care in the documentation relating to Rouen's charitable institutions and monasteries. We also know relatively little about medical practitioners in twelfth- and thirteenth-century Rouen. Nonetheless, the names of a small number of physi-

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Empress Matilda (Henry II's mother) twice in late 1164 as Becket's envoy. *The Correspondence of Thomas Becket*, ed. and trans. by Duggan, I, 158–69, no. 41: letter from Prior Nicholas to Becket, Christmas season, 1164 (pp. 162–69); Chibnall, *The Empress Matilda*, pp. 169–71.

[48] Stratford, 'Le Petit-Quevilly', pp. 143–44.

[49] Eudes Rigaud, *Regestrum visitationum archiepiscopi Rothomagensis*, ed. by Bonnin, p. 102; Eudes Rigaud, *The Register*, trans. by Brown, p. 117.

[50] 'Semper dicuntur matutine media nocte, ad quas surgunt sorores quando volunt, nec possunt ad hoc compelli': Eudes Rigaud, *Regestrum visitationum archiepiscopi Rothomagensis*, ed. by Bonnin, p. 325; Eudes Rigaud, *The Register*, trans. by Brown, p. 371.

cians are known, suggesting that there was a recognizable medical profession in Rouen, possibly centred upon the archbishop's *familia* (household). It is likely that many of the physicians active in Rouen had been trained at the University of Paris. Among the 260 Parisian scholars of medicine whose origins can be traced in the period 1250–1400, twenty-six (that is, 10 per cent) came from the diocese of Rouen, the largest number for any French diocese (reflecting Rouen's proximity to Paris).[51] It is likely that at least some of these scholars returned to their 'home' diocese and may well have practised in the city of Rouen. Certainly, Rouen physicians who had studied in Paris are known from the later Middle Ages. For example, Guillaume Desjardins, canon of Rouen Cathedral (1421–38), became master of medicine in Paris in 1408 and was a regent of medicine there until 1418; from at least 1418, he was resident in Rouen.[52]

Rouen's physicians presumably had wealthy, high-status clients, though they might also have visited the sick in hospitals, *leprosaria*, and monastic infirmaries. Adam Davis argues that Eudes Rigaud 'wanted to make sure that religious houses […] had access to physicians'.[53] At the Benedictine abbey of La Trinité-du-Mont, Rouen, on 17 May 1262, the Archbishop specifically instructed that the sick should have access to a physician and that a suitable servant should be found for the infirmary.[54] In a charter issued between 1206 and 1218, 'Master Simon, doctor, *curé* of Vatetot' donated a house in the rue Saint-Nicolas, Rouen, to the Augustinian priory of Saint-Lô.[55] Simon's status as 'master' testifies to his university education. Vatetot-sur-Mer was a dependent church of La Madeleine, donated by Richard I, King of England (1189–99).[56] Simon's appointment as parish priest to this church indicates a connection to La Madeleine: he might have been involved in the care of the sick poor, abandoned infants, and pregnant women at the hospital. Simon, doctor, also appears

[51] O'Boyle, *The Art of Medicine*, pp. 37, 39–40.

[52] Tabbagh, *Diocèse de Rouen*, p. 200, no. 144; Wickersheimer, *Dictionnaire biographique des médecins en France*, I, 239.

[53] Davis, *The Holy Bureaucrat*, p. 80.

[54] Eudes Rigaud, *Regestrum visitationum archiepiscopi Rothomagensis*, ed. by Bonnin, pp. 429–30; Eudes Rigaud, *The Register*, trans. by Brown, p. 489; Davis, *The Holy Bureaucrat*, p. 213, n. 126.

[55] 'ego magister Simon medicus persona de Watetot': de Glanville, *Histoire du prieuré de Saint-Lô de Rouen*, II, 376, no. LV; Musset, 'Rouen au temps des Francs et sous les ducs', p. 72. Musset appears to date this undated charter to *c*. 1175, but it was drawn up before John Luce as mayor of Rouen, who was mayor in 1206–07, 1210–12, and 1213–18.

[56] Rouen, BM, MS Y 42, fol. 21ᵛ; Dubois, 'Les Rouennais face à la mort', pp. 29, 149.

as a witness in a charter of *c.* 1210 marking a land grant by a canon of Rouen Cathedral, and 'Master Symon, physician' is listed under the date of 28 March in the cathedral's necrology drawn up in 1329.[57] Thus, he was associated with the cathedral (itself closely linked to La Madeleine), supporting the notion that physicians clustered around the Archbishop's household.[58]

Eudes Rigaud himself, who suffered from chronic rheumatism that sometimes rendered him unable to travel for weeks at a time, had at least two physicians in his entourage, Master Maur and Master Peter.[59] His *Register* also reveals that John Godebout, a monk of Saint-Wandrille, the distinguished Benedictine abbey on the river Seine west of Rouen, was a doctor ('medicus'). Although John Godebout was one of five monks residing at the dependent priory of Saint-Saëns in March 1267/68, it is plausible that at some point he served the community of Saint-Wandrille itself.[60]

Danielle Jacquart includes Rouen in a list of cities whose hospitals had 'one or two practitioners over the course of the Middle Ages'.[61] She also suggests that medieval medical practitioners avoided working in *leprosaria*, discouraged by the incurability of leprosy. For twelfth- to fifteenth-century France, she found evidence of only eight physicians and one surgeon working within *leprosaria*.[62]

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[57] 'Magister Symon fisicus': 'E Rotomagensis ecclesiæ necrologio', p. 361; Wickersheimer, *Dictionnaire biographique des médecins en France*, II, 736. Wickersheimer lists the Simon who was a witness in *c.* 1210 as a separate individual from the 'Symon' included in the cathedral necrology. However, although the necrology was drawn up in 1329, it lists several individuals from an earlier date (for example, Emma, the *vicomtesse* (second half of the twelfth century), and Archbishop Eudes Rigaud (1248–75)): thus, it drew upon an earlier list or book, which almost certainly remembered the Simon, doctor, who flourished in the first decades of the thirteenth century.

[58] Indeed, Musset, 'Rouen au temps des Francs et sous les ducs', p. 72, describes Simon as a *familier* of the Archbishop.

[59] Eudes Rigaud, *Regestrum visitationum archiepiscopi Rothomagensis*, ed. by Bonnin, pp. 159, 439; Eudes Rigaud, *The Register*, trans. by Brown, pp. 174–75, 499 (Master Maur mentioned at 30 May 1253; Master Peter mentioned at 18 August 1262); Turner, 'Monastic Medicine in the Visitation Records of Eudes Rigaud', p. 2; Davis, *The Holy Bureaucrat*, pp. 43–44, 79, 80, 160–61.

[60] Eudes Rigaud, *Regestrum visitationum archiepiscopi Rothomagensis*, ed. by Bonnin, pp. 597–98; Eudes Rigaud, *The Register*, trans. by Brown, p. 687. In March 1267/68 the prior of Saint-Saëns 'was sick' ('infirmabatur'): perhaps John Godebout was there for this reason.

[61] 'un ou deux practiciens au cours du Moyen Age': Jacquart, *Le Milieu médical en France*, p. 130, n. 1.

[62] Jacquart, *Le Milieu médical en France*, p. 128.

It is therefore possible that, while medical practitioners visited Rouen's hospitals and religious houses, lepers in the *leprosaria* did not benefit from their attention. Nonetheless, it does appear likely that at least one practitioner, a phlebotomist, served the women at Salle-aux-Puelles. In addition, the non-leprous lay women at Mont-aux-Malades and Salle-aux-Puelles, like the lay sisters at La Madeleine, may well have played an important nursing role.[63] The palliative treatments they may have administered, such as ointments, dressings, and dietary regulation, would have been aimed at alleviating the lepers' suffering.

In his statutes for Salle-aux-Puelles drawn up in August 1249, Archbishop Eudes Rigaud ordered that 'The sisters should be bled at their times, if it pleases them, and they should have a competent female bloodletter'.[64] He also instructed that, 'For those who are more sick, and those who have been bled outside the community, the prior should provide according to their need'.[65] Bloodletting was an important feature of both medical practice and monastic life in the Middle Ages. In the strictly medical sense, it was believed to act as a prophylactic to maintain the proper bodily balance in those who were prone to an imbalance of the humours. In the monastic context, it was practised at regular intervals in the liturgical calendar, to prevent physical and spiritual ill health, diminish sexual feelings, and provide an opportunity for temporary respite from the usual monastic routine.[66]

Since almost all the residents of Salle-aux-Puelles were leprous, we need to consider what purpose phlebotomy may have had there.[67] Admittedly, since

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[63] On women as nurses, see Green, *Making Women's Medicine Masculine*, pp. 125–26. According to Eudes Rigaud's *Register*, there were many more lay women than lay men at Mont-aux-Malades in the period of the Archbishop's visitations: for example, on 1 April 1264, sixteen lay sisters and five lay brothers (Eudes Rigaud, *Regestrum visitationum archiepiscopi Rothomagensis*, ed. by Bonnin, p. 513; Eudes Rigaud, *The Register*, trans. by Brown, p. 585). I would suggest that this indicates that women were mainly responsible for nursing duties at the *leprosarium*.

[64] 'Sorores suis temporibus minuant, sibi si placet, et minutricem habeant competentem': Eudes Rigaud, *Regestrum visitationum archiepiscopi Rothomagensis*, ed. by Bonnin, p. 102; Eudes Rigaud, *The Register*, trans. by Brown, p. 117.

[65] 'Infirmioribus autem et minutis extra conventum, prior provideat prout necessitati earum': Eudes Rigaud, *Regestrum visitationum archiepiscopi Rothomagensis*, ed. by Bonnin, p. 101; Eudes Rigaud, *The Register*, trans. by Brown, p. 116.

[66] Yearl, 'The Time of Bloodletting', Abstract and pp. 1–5, 94–95; Yearl, 'Medieval Monastic Customaries on *Minuti* and *Infirmi*', pp. 176–77.

[67] On 9 December 1258, there were ten leprous sisters and one healthy sister at Salle-aux-Puelles. Eudes Rigaud, *Regestrum visitationum archiepiscopi Rothomagensis*, ed. by Bonnin,

Eudes Rigaud's statutes mark a set of theoretical instructions and do not refer explicitly to the sisters being bled as *leprous*, he might have envisaged this as a procedure only to be carried out on any non-leprous members of the community.[68] However, in medical theory it was understood that the accumulation or corruption of blood was an important cause of leprosy — thus, it would have been logical for phlebotomy to be used as a treatment.[69] Nonetheless, it was believed that, while in the early stages of leprosy the evacuation of blood was beneficial, in advanced cases bleeding would not cure but rather would weaken the sufferer. Yet phlebotomy was practised in certain instances: to alleviate the breathing problems of very sick lepers and on 'female lepers who had failed to menstruate'.[70]

The statutes for Salle-aux-Puelles indicate that here bloodletting certainly reflected monastic practice, yet by definition it also formed part of the physical care of the leprous women. The phrase 'their times' may well refer to the religious calendar: it was common for monastic bloodletting to take place four times a year. For the Cistercians, these times were February, April, a date close to the feast of St John the Baptist (24 June), and September; the times might well have been similar in an Augustinian community like Salle-aux-Puelles.[71] Alternatively, 'their times' could indicate a rota by which small groups of women were bled in rotation.[72] It might also plausibly signify the monthly menstrual cycle, as it is likely that these sick women were no longer menstruating and were thus perceived to be retaining excess blood.

The specification for a female bloodletter (*minutrix*) to be used not only indicates that female medical practitioners were active in the Rouen area, but also probably reflects the widely held belief that religious women should be protected, as far as possible, from contact with men from outside the cloister. Monica Green argues that, 'since contact with males was seen as inherently threatening to female chastity (both of body and reputation), which was

p. 325; Eudes Rigaud, *The Register*, trans. by Brown, p. 371.

[68] Indeed, in general it was believed that bloodletting should only be performed on the healthy members of a religious community, to minimize the disruption to community life: Yearl, 'The Time of Bloodletting', p. 85.

[69] Demaitre, *Leprosy in Premodern Medicine*, pp. 260–61.

[70] Rawcliffe, *Leprosy in Medieval England*, pp. 233–44.

[71] Yearl, 'The Time of Bloodletting', pp. 88, 94; Green, *Making Women's Medicine Masculine*, pp. 122, 124.

[72] See Yearl, 'Medieval Monastic Customaries on *Minuti* and *Infirmi*', p. 178.

paramount to nuns' identity, some level of female care was needed'.[73] Female medical expertise might be supplied either from the membership of the religious community itself — two nuns at the Dominican house of Longchamp in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries acted as barber-surgeons — or from outside.[74] It was still recognized that, in serious situations, male medical practitioners should be brought into the cloister.[75] Although Mary Yearl, in her 2005 doctoral dissertation on bloodletting, argues that there was essentially no gender distinction made between religious men and women with regard to bloodletting, the activity of female phlebotomists at nunneries like Salle-aux-Puelles does mark one important difference.[76]

Unusually, it would appear that (at least sometimes) bloodletting took place outside Salle-aux-Puelles itself: thus, the women (leprous or not) left the cloister for this purpose.[77] Bleeding was also voluntary, revealing that it was certainly not obligatory for the leprous women to be bled. Those who had been bled outside were put in the same category as the 'more sick', suggesting that the physical impact of phlebotomy was well understood. They probably spent a period of time in the *leprosarium*'s infirmary, a space mentioned in the record of Eudes Rigaud's visit on 9 December 1258.[78]

There is also evidence for likely medical activity, or at least the consumption of medical remedies, at the abbey of Saint-Ouen, Rouen. Recording his visit there on 13 December 1258, Eudes Rigaud observed that 'Merchants and apothecaries often came there, and entered the cloister, bringing with them there items to sell to the monks'.[79] The Archbishop forbade this practice —

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[73] Green, *Making Women's Medicine Masculine*, pp. 121–25 (p. 122).

[74] Green, *Making Women's Medicine Masculine*, pp. 120–25; Wickersheimer, *Dictionnaire biographique des médecins en France*, ii, 505, 532.

[75] Green, *Making Women's Medicine Masculine*, p. 124.

[76] Yearl, 'The Time of Bloodletting', pp. 84, 93–103; also see Green, *Making Women's Medicine Masculine*, p. 122, n. 8.

[77] Yearl, 'Medieval Monastic Customaries on *Minuti* and *Infirmi*', p. 184, states that bleeding took place 'in the infirmary, warming room or some other place appointed for the event' — that is, inside the monastery.

[78] Eudes Rigaud, *Regestrum visitationum archiepiscopi Rothomagensis*, ed. by Bonnin, p. 325; Eudes Rigaud, *The Register*, trans. by Brown, pp. 371–72.

[79] 'Mercerii et apotecarii aliquotiens veniebant, et ingrediebantur claustrum, secum ibidem afferentes res quasdam monachis vendendas': Eudes Rigaud, *Regestrum visitationum archiepiscopi Rothomagensis*, ed. by Bonnin, p. 326; Eudes Rigaud, *The Register*, trans. by Brown, p. 373.

it was inappropriate for lay people to infiltrate the cloister — yet it suggests that there was a ready market for the wares of apothecaries among the abbey's monks. Apothecaries supplied 'medical and restorative preparations', consisting of potions, exotic spices, and unguents.[80] Particular apothecaries often worked in conjunction with particular physicians: at Westminster Abbey, London, in the mid-fourteenth century, a physician and an apothecary met with the infirmarer once a year to settle financial matters. A London apothecary, Thomas Walden, was most closely associated with Westminster Abbey at this time.[81] It is likely that physicians and apothecaries were also involved with the infirmary at Saint-Ouen, a similarly distinguished abbey, though the apothecaries cited by Eudes Rigaud appear to have been transacting with the monks in general rather than specifically with the staff of the infirmary.

The regulation of the diet was another important aspect of medieval medicine. It was believed that sickness was caused by an imbalance of the bodily humours and that the proper balance within the body could be restored through dietary measures. Lepers, for example, were encouraged to eat foodstuffs that were mild and moist, such as eggs, poultry, fresh fish, and good pork, which 'would pass more easily through the body, cooling the overheated digestive system'.[82] Food also had great religious significance. In taking the Eucharist, medieval Christians believed that they consumed the body and blood of Christ, and 'Eating was [...] an occasion for union with one's fellows and one's God', a function particularly important in promoting a sense of community and religious fulfilment in monastic institutions, including hospitals and *leprosaria*.[83]

Archbishop Rigaud's account of his visit to Saint-Ouen in December 1258 testifies to the perceived importance of diet in the care of the sick. He stated that 'we enjoined the kitchener that he should make sure that the food and dishes of the sick and the frail staying in the infirmary are prepared very diligently at the proper hours; for several times this had been done irregularly and less carefully'.[84] The kitchener at Saint-Ouen was therefore involved in the care

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[80] Rawcliffe, *Medicine and Society in Later Medieval England*, p. 149.

[81] Harvey, *Living and Dying in England*, pp. 83–84; Rawcliffe, *Medicine and Society in Later Medieval England*, pp. 149–50.

[82] Rawcliffe, *Leprosy in Medieval England*, p. 213.

[83] Bynum, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast*, pp. 1–2, 3.

[84] 'iuiunximus [*sic*] coquinario quod cibos et fercula infirmorum et debilium in infirmaria existentium, horis debitis faceret diligentissime preparari; istud autem inordinate et minus provide aliquotiens factum fuit': Eudes Rigaud, *Regestrum visitationum archiepiscopi Rothomagensis*, ed. by Bonnin, p. 327; Eudes Rigaud, *The Register*, trans. by Brown, p. 374.

of the sick, in terms of providing a regular diet and, presumably, the foods that were considered best for the patients. The kitchener's role, however, had been neglected at Saint-Ouen, and Eudes Rigaud required this to be rectified. The statement also indicates that frail, elderly monks, as well as those who were sick, stayed in the infirmary. Saint-Ouen's infirmary may have served as a retirement facility as well as a sick ward, catering for those monks who withdrew from the regular routine of the monastery as they became elderly and infirm. This was certainly a function of the infirmary at Westminster Abbey, which was partly occupied by 'senior monks who had grown weary of the common life and wished to live privately'.[85]

In his charter of the 1180s in favour of Salle-aux-Puelles, Henry II granted 200 *livres* of Anjou per year for the women's sustenance and clothing. He also granted them the right to take wood from the nearby forest of Rouvray to heat and repair their houses.[86] In November 1366, Salle-aux-Puelles was unified with La Madeleine, in the context of the great financial need of the latter at this time, following the Black Death (1347–50) and in the first decades of the Hundred Years' War (1337–1453). Yet King Charles V of France (1364–80) instructed that 'the miserable persons infected with the disease of leprosy' at Salle-aux-Puelles were still to have the food and provisions they needed.[87] He stated that 'A sufficiency of temporals should be administered to every single one of these persons, so that they should not have need of victuals, or have to collect timber'.[88]

The apparent concern of both monarchs for the bodily well-being of the female lepers at Salle-aux-Puelles is clear, yet neither king referred to medical care. In both the late twelfth and the mid-fourteenth centuries, it appears

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[85] Harvey, *Living and Dying in England*, p. 87.

[86] For Henry II's charter for Salle-aux-Puelles, see note 30 above.

[87] 'miserabilibus personis morbo leprae infectis': Rouen, Arch. dép. de la Seine-Maritime, H-Dépôt 1, A 39 (seventeenth-century? printed copy of Charles V's charter of November 1366, p. 1). In October 1359, La Madeleine was granted exemption from paying taxes (*octrois*), given the diminution of its revenues through enemy pillaging and the increased numbers of sick poor from the countryside, and women made pregnant by the enemy, flocking to the hospital (*Documents concernant les pauvres de Rouen*, ed. by Panel, I, pp. xxviii, 3). At the same time, there may have been fewer leprous women at Salle-aux-Puelles, justifying the diversion of its revenues to La Madeleine.

[88] 'quinimo unicuique ipsarum personarum ita sufficienter ministretur in temporalibus, quod super victualium penuriâ non habeant materiam conquirendi': Rouen, Arch. dép. de la Seine-Maritime, H-Dépôt 1, A 39 (seventeenth-century? printed copy, p. 2).

to have been assumed that the *leprosarium*'s most important function was to provide food, warmth, and clothing for the leprous, rather than to serve as a locus for medical treatment. The issue of lepers' social and religious status is also important here. Notwithstanding their infirmity, it would have been inappropriate for the high-status women of Salle-aux-Puelles to have had to gather firewood.[89] Leprous monks from the abbey of Saint-Ouen were sent to Mont-aux-Malades, and, in February 1297, special provisions were made for them at the *leprosarium*. This document also addressed the matters of food and warmth, yet it appears that, in comparison with their fellow lepers, the monks had special privileges. They were to have candles and wood to burn as needed and were entitled to the same pittances of meat, fish, and wine as the canons of Mont-aux-Malades (as opposed to the other lepers). Each monk also had a manservant.[90] It appears that these monks were distinguished from the other lepers by their elite religious status and were, as far as was possible, permitted to live in the manner to which they had previously been accustomed.

The Care of the Needy: Support for Rouen's Poor

In addition to the facilities for the sick in hospitals, *leprosaria*, and monastic infirmaries, there was also provision for the indigent — those who were not necessarily sick but were undoubtedly needy — in medieval Rouen. Like arrangements for the sick, charity for the indigent was evident from the twelfth century onwards and was closely associated with the Anglo-Norman royal family, and subsequently the French kings, and with the civic government (the commune). Although many of the recipients of charity fitted into the categories of both 'sick' and 'needy' (hence the catch-all term 'the sick poor'), it is possible to discern welfare measures aimed specifically at combating poverty, rather than disease. These measures reveal concern about the social well-being of the urban population and the need to ensure good standards of living, and reflect the different layers of community in the city, from the royal and civic elites to the needy poor.

The most obvious measure was the construction of lodgings for the poor in the ditches of the old city wall to the north.[91] Until recently, the rue de

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[89] See Duchemin, *Petit-Quevilly et le prieuré de Saint-Julien*, p. 231.

[90] Rouen, Arch. dép. de la Seine-Maritime, 14 H 660 (i) (charter of the prior and community of Mont-aux-Malades, 18 February 1297).

[91] This was the original enclosure, rather than the larger enclosure built by Henry II. Cailleux, 'Un point de l'histoire des enceintes rouennaises', p. 95.

l'Aumône (now the rue des fossés Louis VIII) was held to have originated in the thirteenth century, following a grant of King Louis VIII of France (1223–26) in May 1224 (see Map 5 in Bernard Gauthiez's essay, above). This act was undoubtedly important: the King granted to the burgesses of Rouen

> the back ditches of the town of Rouen, with a view to providing hospitality or making gardens; and we will hold the other ditches belonging to the walls of Rouen in our hands as they are, without handing them over with a view to hospitality, in such a way that we will be able to repair and fortify them if it pleases us.[92]

Although this grant spoke in only general terms about the provision of hospitality (or gardens), it was seen by scholars such as Nicétas Periaux and Gustave Panel as marking the origin of the rue de l'Aumône.[93] However, Philippe Cailleux has shown that the rue de l'Aumône ('vicum Elemosine' or 'vicum de Elemosine') was already being referred to in charters of 1220–21.[94] Furthermore, Henry II mentioned the rue de l'Aumône in a grant to the Cistercian abbey of Beaubec, north-east of Rouen, issued between 1156 and 1172–73. The King donated a tenement near the priory of Saint-Lô, Rouen, 'and the freedom of building above my wall [...] and 40 feet of land *de fronte* and 15 feet *de lato* outside the wall, in the rue de l'Aumône, where they should make two residences 28 feet long, for giving hospitality through their hands to the poor of Christ'.[95]

The land for lodgings for the poor, therefore, was provided by royal grant, in both the reign of Henry II and in 1224, testifying to continuity in the practice of royal governance in Rouen after 1204. Louis VIII may have been renewing

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[92] 'retròfossata villæ Rothomagi, ad hospitandum vel faciendum jardinos, et alia fossata tenentia ad muros Rothomagi tenebimus in manu nostrâ, sicut sunt, sine tradere ea ad hospitandum, ità quòd eadem fossata reparare et in eis forteritiam facere poterimus, si nobis placuerit': Chéruel, *Histoire de Rouen pendant l'époque communale*, I, 266–68 (p. 266). The charter is also printed in an abridged form in *Documents concernant les pauvres de Rouen*, ed. by Panel, I, 1: Panel replaces 'sine' with 'sive', giving the latter part of the sentence a different meaning ('or hand them over with a view to hospitality'). Also see *Documents concernant les pauvres de Rouen*, ed. by Panel, I, pp. xxii–xxiii.

[93] Periaux, *Dictionnaire indicateur et historique des rues et places de Rouen*, pp. 240–41; *Documents concernant les pauvres de Rouen*, ed. by Panel, I, pp. xxii–xxiii.

[94] Cailleux, 'Un point de l'histoire des enceintes rouennaises', p. 96.

[95] 'et libertatem edificandi supra murum meum [...] et quadraginta pedes terre de fronte et quindecim de lato extra murum, in vico Elemosine, ubi facient duo stadia viginti et octo pedum longitudinis, pro hospitando per manus ipsorum pauperes Christi': Cailleux, 'Un point de l'histoire des enceintes rouennaises', pp. 97, 98, n. 10; *Recueil des actes de Henri II*, ed. by Delisle and Berger, I, 503–04 (no. 367).

the arrangement made by Henry II, transferring the responsibility for the rue de l'Aumône from the abbey of Beaubec to Rouen's burgesses (though admittedly his charter states none of this explicitly). This grant shows that Henry II assisted not only Rouen's lepers, but also the 'poor of Christ' who needed shelter. Both Henry II and Louis VIII were fulfilling a biblical work of mercy in providing hospitality. Other groups were also implicated in these provisions: in the second half of the twelfth century, the religious of Beaubec; in the first part of the thirteenth century, the burgesses of Rouen's civic government. This highlights how charity for the sick and needy often tied relatively affluent groups into a web of obligations, linking them to each other and to those they assisted.

As Cailleux observes, it is not clear precisely from when the rue de l'Aumône dates — at the latest, it was established in the second half of the twelfth century — nor exactly where the name comes from.[96] This might have been an area where the poor gathered to receive alms and/or where they had established primitive shelters. Indeed, the 'back ditches' were marginal land, perhaps signifying the relegation of the poor to the insalubrious edges of the city. Nonetheless, by the 1220s, the north-west of Rouen was an expanding area, spurred by the construction of Philip Augustus's castle of Bouvreuil after 1204.[97] It appears that a substantial number of houses were built in the road — perhaps over a long period of time — since in 1646 there were 133 houses there.[98] This indicates the number of poor families who lived in the street in medieval and early modern Rouen, and thus helps us to appreciate the scale of poverty in the city.

The rue de l'Aumône also adjoined the precinct of the priory of Saint-Lô. In 1299 a dispute arose regarding the monks' diversion of the water supply common to them both.[99] The poor residing in the street appealed to the *vicomte* of Rouen regarding the fact that the religious of Saint-Lô were preventing the water from serving their fountain.[100] On the Sunday before Ash Wednesday 1299, the *vicomte* visited the street in the presence of the Prior of Saint-Lô and the *procureur* of the poor of the rue de l'Aumône. He found that the religious had indeed diverted the course of the water 'wrongfully and without rea-

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[96] Cailleux, 'Un point de l'histoire des enceintes rouennaises', p. 97.

[97] On the city walls and Rouen's expansion, see the essays by Bernard Gauthiez and Fanny Madeline in this volume.

[98] *Documents concernant les pauvres de Rouen*, ed. by Panel, i, p. xxiii.

[99] De Glanville, *Histoire du prieuré de Saint-Lô de Rouen*, i, 176–80; *Documents concernant les pauvres de Rouen*, ed. by Panel, i, pp. xxiii, 1–2.

[100] De Glanville, *Histoire du prieuré de Saint-Lô de Rouen*, i, 177.

son' and decreed that the fountain should be maintained 'in the state that in the past it has always been maintained'.[101] This included the responsibility of the religious of Saint-Lô to maintain the course of the fountain at their own expense.[102]

This case suggests that Rouen's religious communities did not always act positively towards the needy: the monks of Saint-Lô may have resented the presence of large numbers of the poor living so close to their own monastery and the fact that they bore financial responsibility for the watercourse serving them both. It also supports the notion that, by the latter part of the thirteenth century, the rue de l'Aumône had been in existence for some time, since the *vicomte*'s act refers to long-established custom regarding the fountain. Finally, it reveals that the poor of the road had a procurator (*procureur*) who represented their interests.

There were other facilities for the poor in medieval Rouen. In 1277, William de Saâne, treasurer of Rouen Cathedral (1252–80), founded a hospital for poor pilgrims. The hospital was later endowed by King Philip IV of France (1285–1314), and it became known as the Hôpital du Roi.[103] William de Saâne, a member of Archbishop Eudes Rigaud's household, was responsible for other good works: he established a theological school in Paris (the Collège du Trésorier) for secular students from the Rouen diocese, and he is listed in the fifteenth-century memorial book of La Madeleine.[104]

As well as being responsible for the rue de l'Aumône from the 1220s, the civic government distributed welfare contributions known as *hanses* from at least the 1390s, and probably much earlier. This term originated in the *lettres de hanse* that foreign merchants had to purchase in order to do business in Rouen.

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[101] 'a tort et sans raison [...] en l'estat que au temps passé a esté tousjours tenue': act of the *vicomte* of Rouen, Sunday before Ash Wednesday, 1299, printed in *Documents concernant les pauvres de Rouen*, ed. by Panel, I, 1–2, and de Glanville, *Histoire du prieuré de Saint-Lô de Rouen*, I, 179–80. My rendition of the French follows Panel.

[102] *Documents concernant les pauvres de Rouen*, ed. by Panel, I, 2; de Glanville, *Histoire du prieuré de Saint-Lô de Rouen*, I, 180.

[103] Farin, *Histoire de la ville de Rouen* II, Part V, 26; Periaux, *Dictionnaire indicateur et historique des rues et places de Rouen*, p. 293.

[104] Rouen, BM, MS Y 42, fol. 18ᵛ; Davis, *The Holy Bureaucrat*, pp. 37, 111; Tabbagh, *Diocèse de Rouen*, p. 209; Dubois, 'Les Rouennais face à la mort', pp. 45, 46–47. William de Saâne was not necessarily a benefactor of La Madeleine: no gifts are mentioned in his entry in the memorial book, and he may have been listed simply by virtue of his reputation, status, and achievements.

The money they paid was put towards municipal welfare distributions. *Hanses* were certainly granted to those who were sick, but were also aimed at helping the poor.[105] A common purpose was to defray the costs of marriage for poor young women: on 28 April 1390, for example, the daughter of Martin Fouetel, barber, received 60 *sous* 'to help her to marry'.[106] These grants also assisted those who were not sick themselves but were affected financially by the sickness of others. On 5 March 1391, 30 *sous* were given to the wife of Gillet Le Geloux, leper, 'to help her to live'.[107] Another group of recipients were poor people responsible for feeding small children, many of whom appear to have been foundlings or the children of others, whom they undertook to foster. On 8 June 1390 a grant of 60 *sous* was made to Jouenne Souyer, poor woman, 'to help her to feed seven small children that she had' (some or all of these could have been her own children).[108] On 3 February 1408 William de Varville and his wife received a full *hanse* towards feeding a nameless child that had been found in the parish of Saint-Lô, Rouen.[109]

Conclusion

Although the *hanses* that are recorded date from after 1300, they shed light on a complex welfare system in Rouen that may well have operated in the thirteenth century and earlier. While in the twelfth century, Rouen's hospitals, *leprosaria*, and almshouses were endowed by the Anglo-Norman royal family, from the 1220s onwards, the communal government took on an increasingly important role in providing for the sick and needy, although the French kings still had a significant involvement in such provision after 1204. Yet much essen-

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[105] *Documents concernant les pauvres de Rouen*, ed. by Panel, ɪ, pp. xxxiv–xxxvi.

[106] 'pour la aidier a marier': Rouen, Arch. dép. de la Seine-Maritime, Arch. de la Ville, Délib., Reg. A1, fol. 121ʳ; *Documents concernant les pauvres de Rouen*, ed. by Panel, ɪ, 3. Also see *Documents concernant les pauvres de Rouen*, ed. by Panel, ɪ, pp. xxxv, 4.

[107] 'pour luy aidier a vivre': Rouen, Arch. dép. de la Seine-Maritime, Arch. de la Ville, Délib., Reg. A2, fol. 85ᵛ; *Documents concernant les pauvres de Rouen*, ed. by Panel, ɪ, 4. In the early 1390s, a full *hanse* appears to have been 60 *sous*: the grant of 30 *sous* to the wife of Gillet Le Geloux is described as a 'demi hanse'.

[108] 'pour aidier a nourrir sept petits enfans que elle avoit': Rouen, Arch. dép. de la Seine-Maritime, Arch. de la Ville, Délib., Reg. A1, fol. 134ʳ; *Documents concernant les pauvres de Rouen*, ed. by Panel, ɪ, 4.

[109] Rouen, Arch. dép. de la Seine-Maritime, Arch. de la Ville, Délib., Reg. A5, fol. 179ᵛ; *Documents concernant les pauvres de Rouen*, ed. by Panel, ɪ, 5.

tial care was distributed by individual people, such as the lay women and men who served the sick in hospitals and *leprosaria*, and the people who, despite their own poverty, cared for needy children. Although specialized medical care was available to certain people, and spiritual care was also important in the treatment of the sick, many needy and vulnerable people relied on a localized network of family, friends, and neighbours. The variety of provision for the sick and needy testifies to the different layers of community in medieval Rouen, from the level of the parish and the family, to the resident communities of monasteries, hospitals, and *leprosaria*, to the social networks of the mercantile, aristocratic, and ecclesiastical elites. In this way, the care of the sick and needy both helped to reinforce the social bonds that sustained local communities, and created links between different social groups, most notably the rich and the poor.

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The Jews of Rouen in the Eleventh to the Thirteenth Centuries

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Rouen's Jewish population was one of the most significant of medieval France. The Jewish quarter, centred upon the rue aux Juifs, west of the cathedral, and the surrounding parishes of Saint-Lô, Saint-Herbland, and Notre-Dame de la Ronde enclosed a synagogue, yeshiva (rabbinical seminary), and foundry.[1] This chapter will discuss the origins and architecture of the city's Jewish community, drawing on archaeological findings in the area of the rue aux Juifs, particularly the remains of a Romanesque building believed by some scholars to have been the yeshiva. It will also assess the social, economic, and intellectual significance of the community, from the violence of 1096 to the presence of Jewish converts among Rouen's affluent burgess elite in the thirteenth century.

The Jewish Quarter: Origins, Architecture, and Archaeology

The Jewish quarter in Rouen occupied a site in the north-western corner of the Gallo-Roman city, approximately three hundred metres long and one hundred metres wide, bounded on the east by the modern-day rue des Carmes and on the south by the rue du Gros-Horloge (see Map 1 in Bernard Gauthiez's essay, above). The quarter extended northwards to the rue Saint-Lô, and it is possible

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[1] Golb, *Les Juifs de Rouen au Moyen Âge*, pp. 3, 5–6, 29; Golb, *The Jews in Medieval Normandy*, pp. 137–46; Musset, 'Rouen au temps des Francs et sous les ducs', pp. 64, 65–66.

that as Rouen grew in prosperity, the Jewish community expanded westwards. We do not know how many Jews lived in Rouen in the period 911–1300. Norman Golb's controversial work suggests a population of between two thousand and three thousand before the massacre of 1096 connected with the First Crusade. Bernard Gauthiez states, however, that the exact number is unknown.[2] William Chester Jordan argues for a maximum of two thousand Jews in Normandy as a whole in 1204, located in thirty-eight settlements. He believes that Golb's estimated population for Rouen is exaggerated.[3] Our knowledge of the architectural remains of the Jewish community in Rouen owes much to archaeological excavations in the 1970s and 1980s. These sites on the rue aux Juifs, one to the south of the street and the other to the north under the fifteenth-century Palais de Justice, have been interpreted variously by different scholars but were certainly large house-type structures and are discussed below.

The prominent position of the Jewish quarter within the Gallo-Roman city walls and the community's ownership of a large patch of land for use as a cemetery (see below) have led Golb to argue for its antiquity, suggesting that Jewish settlement in Rouen stretches back to the Roman occupation.[4] Golb's suggestion is, however, by no means a certainty. Although some Jewish settlements in the Rhineland (at Cologne, Mainz, and Trier) may have dated back to late antiquity (though it is far from clear that these settlements were continuous between late antiquity and the early Middle Ages), other communities, at Speyer and Worms, were established much later, in the eleventh century, and were associated with the urbanization of these cities.[5] Michael Toch argues that the Ashkenazic Jewish communities in northern France and Germany, which had a shared 'cultural affinity', originated only in the tenth and eleventh centuries, as a result of immigration from southern Europe.[6]

Following the settlement of Rouen by Rollo and his companions in the early decades of the tenth century, the major centres of power — the ducal castle and the rebuilt cathedral — were situated in the Gallo-Roman enclosure. The location of the Jewish quarter here could be viewed as an indication of its importance in the growth of Rouen, particularly from the late tenth century onwards.

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[2] Golb, *The Jews in Medieval Normandy*, p. 147, and Bernard Gauthiez's essay in this volume.

[3] Jordan, *The French Monarchy and the Jews*, pp. 50–52, 275–76, n. 83.

[4] Golb, *The Jews in Medieval Normandy*, pp. 33–37.

[5] Schmandt, 'Cologne, Jewish Centre on the Lower Rhine', p. 368; Transier, 'Speyer', pp. 436–38; Bönnen, 'Worms', pp. 450–52; Toch, 'The Jews in Europe', p. 554.

[6] Toch, 'The Jews in Europe', pp. 552–55.

Jewish quarters in many other French cities (for example, Paris, Sens, Chartres, and Orléans) were similarly situated near royal or noble foci of power.[7] The earliest written reference to the medieval Jewish community of Rouen is possibly an anonymous Hebrew chronicle recounting the visit to Rome by Jacob ben Yekutiel, a Jew from Rouen, in *c.* 1007 to seek the Pope's aid in preventing the persecution of his co-religionists under Duke Richard II of Normandy.[8] Much hangs on the identification of 'RDWM' in this text as meaning Rouen, which, although a possibility, is by no means certain, as discussion later in this chapter demonstrates.[9] The origins of Rouen's medieval Jewish community are still unclear, and more work needs to be done; however, it does appear likely that the community was settled in the tenth and eleventh centuries and that its growth was closely associated with Rouen's expansion and development.

The principal thoroughfare of the Jewish quarter was the rue aux Juifs, along which there were many multi-storeyed houses. Most of the dwellings on the north side of the street were destroyed during the construction of the Palais de Justice, but those on the south side survived until the nineteenth century when Rouen was substantially rebuilt.[10] It is possible that the area later known as the *clos aux Juifs* was enclosed, as was the Jewish settlement at Speyer.[11] Golb points to a fourteenth-century document which mentions 'the gate of the street of the Jews'. Remains of a wall were discovered in the nineteenth century and were dated to the Roman period. Golb argues that, as the community was entirely legitimate and no restrictions were put in place to limit its expansion, the wall was symbolic of the Jewish quarter's autonomy and identity, not its confinement.[12] In addition, the community had a cemetery on the *mons judaeorum*, outside the walls of the city to the north-west, close to the modern railway station.[13]

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[7] Perez, 'Next-Door Neighbors'.

[8] Golb, *The Jews in Medieval Normandy*, pp. 1–18; Chazan, '1007–1012', especially pp. 103–06, 108–09, 114–16; Toch, 'The Jews in Europe', p. 567; Nahon, 'Zarfat', p. 207; van Torhoudt, '1022', p. 358. The authors are grateful to Elisabeth van Houts for pointing out van Torhoudt's article to us. Also see Stow, *The '1007 Anonymous' and Papal Sovereignty*, arguing that the text was composed in the thirteenth century. This claim is, however, refuted by Robert Chazan, who maintains that it most likely dates from the late eleventh century: Chazan, 'Review of Kenneth R. Stow', pp. 730–31.

[9] See the section on 'The Social, Economic, and Intellectual Significance of Rouen's Jewish Community' below. See also Schwarzfuchs, 'Review of Norman Golb'.

[10] Golb, *The Jews in Medieval Normandy*, p. 149.

[11] Transier, 'Speyer', p. 436.

[12] Golb, *The Jews in Medieval Normandy*, p. 143.

[13] Golb, *Les Juifs de Rouen au Moyen Âge*, pp. 9–13.

In keeping with other European Jewish communities, Rouen's Jewish quarter would have housed buildings necessary for the practice of religion, notably the synagogue. The exact location of the synagogue has been a matter of intense debate among archaeologists and historians. Bernard Blumenkranz favoured the site underneath the Palais de Justice, where an elaborate Romanesque building was excavated in 1976.[14] In contrast, Golb identified these remains as the site of a yeshiva. Golb's view is now largely accepted, and the yeshiva will be discussed in more detail below. An alternative site for the synagogue is on the south side of the rue aux Juifs close to the junction with the rue Massacre, around the site of modern-day house numbers 55 and 57. Unfortunately, this building no longer survives, having been destroyed in the nineteenth century. Charles de Beaurepaire and Eustache de la Quérière saw and described the medieval remnants after the house had been demolished, but unfortunately neither man made a drawing.[15] De la Quérière expressed doubts that local tradition, which had identified the building as the tower of a synagogue, could be correct.[16]

In addition to the work of de Beaurepaire and de la Quérière, Golb analysed maps and plans of Rouen ranging from Jacques le Lieur's *Livre des fontaines de Rouen* (1526) to eighteenth-century plans and maps by Rondeaux de Sétry and Vernisse. He argues that these documents either clearly identify the tower or mark the location of the synagogue as being the corner of the rue aux Juifs and the rue Massacre, and suggests a date of the early twelfth century for the synagogue's construction, the time during which the community was re-established following the crusade-related violence of 1096. That the synagogue would have had a tower is supported by rabbinical law that decreed that the building should be the tallest in the Jewish quarter: Golb cites the synagogue in Sens as a comparable example.[17] The elements in Vernisse's plan, including a staircase to an upper floor for women, an entrance in the west wall, and an apse in the east to hold the Torah scrolls, are also consistent with Jewish custom.[18] In his use of plans, however, Golb does not consider the problems associated with

[14] Blumenkranz, 'La Synagogue de Rouen'.

[15] Golb, *The Jews in Medieval Normandy*, pp. 149–52, 153–54 (citing de la Quérière, *Description historique des maisons de Rouen*, i, 149–50; Charles de Beaurepaire in *Bulletin de la Commission des antiquités de la Seine-Inférieure*, p. 197.

[16] Cited in Golb, *The Jews in Medieval Normandy*, p. 150.

[17] Golb, *The Jews in Medieval Normandy*, p. 153 and n. 33.

[18] Golb, *The Jews in Medieval Normandy*, pp. 151–52.

the interpretation of such documents, notably regarding their purpose and their stylized depiction of houses, religious buildings, and other monuments.[19] Dominique Pitte has also analysed these sources and discussed problems associated with their interpretation, as well as the nineteenth-century descriptions. He agrees that the building was a tower, based on its square shape, thick walls, and elevation, but states that it cannot be dated any more precisely than the twelfth or thirteenth century. He is, however, far more hesitant to describe it as a synagogue. Pitte notes that the term 'synagogue' does not appear in relation to this building in any documentation prior to the eighteenth century (the tower is not labelled on earlier plans), and the designation may thus be derived from later traditions.[20] It is possible that the remains of the building as seen in the nineteenth century are indicative of a twelfth- or thirteenth-century tower built against the old city walls, which may have had a residential function.

The identification of the building under the Palais de Justice as the yeshiva has more evidence to support it, though, again, it is impossible to say so for certain (see item no. 1 in Figure 3 in Gauthiez, above). As Pitte and Bernard Gauthiez have acknowledged, the 'Jewish Monument' is typologically a house, though this does not preclude it from having served as the school.[21] Indeed, like yeshivas elsewhere, it could have been a private house with facilities for teaching.[22] The building is rectangular, measuring 14.14 m by 9.46 m with thick walls.[23] The lower floor survives, along with a staircase in the south wall that would have led to the upper floor, which Golb has identified as a study room; he also posited additional floors for living quarters.[24] The lower room, which only has windows in the north wall, was, if we are looking at the remains of the yeshiva, the book room or library. The remains of nine small holes in the southern section of the east wall are possibly indicative of a shelf, and small containers that served as oil lamps were also uncovered during excavations.[25] In con-

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[19] See Pitte, 'Architecture civile en pierre à Rouen', pp. 257–58, for problems associated with the interpretation of these plans.

[20] Pitte, 'Architecture civile en pierre à Rouen', p. 266. The putative synagogue is building 5 in his list.

[21] Pitte, 'Architecture civile en pierre à Rouen', p. 265, and Bernard Gauthiez's essay in this volume.

[22] We are grateful to Bernard Gowers for this suggestion.

[23] Halbout-Bertin, 'Le Monument Juif d'époque romane', p. 83.

[24] Golb, *The Jews in Medieval Normandy*, p. 161.

[25] Halbout-Bertin, 'Le Monument Juif d'époque romane', pp. 85–86.

trast to the interior of the building, the external walls on the north, south, and west sides are richly embellished with sculptural columns characteristic of the Romanesque period. The decorative bases of the columns are all different, and two especially may have a Jewish association. On the south wall there is a double lion (two bodies, one head) lying on its back with its paws in the air, which may symbolize the lion of Judah. The position of the lion is unusual, and no similar examples are known.[26] There is also a two-headed dragon or serpent on the south wall, which Maylis Baylé has associated with Psalm 91. 13: 'you will tread on the lion and the adder, the young lion and the adder you will trample underfoot'.[27] The fact that this building is large and richly ornamented suggests a construction of some significance and status.

In 1982, remains of a medieval building were discovered under house number 33 on the south side of the rue aux Juifs and opposite the east wing of the Palais de Justice (Pitte's building number 3; item no. 1 in Figure 3 in Gauthiez, above). Archaeologists excavated foundations measuring 13.5 m by 6.9 m (interior ground floor room), vestiges of a staircase, a well, and a latrine.[28] Bases of stone arches that would have supported the vault survived in the east wall. The architectural remains indicated that this building was a high-status house, owned by a wealthy person, whom Golb has identified from documents relating to the abbey of Saint-Ouen as the Jew Bonnevie.[29] As Philippe Cailleux has noted, though, we cannot be absolutely certain that this is the case.[30] Other architectural survivals have been uncovered in Rouen's Jewish quarter, including a cellar underneath the Palais de Justice and to the west of the Jewish Monument, and a residence on the rue Saint-Lô.[31]

Whatever the designation of buildings may be in the Jewish quarter, their style and plan fits in with a more general Romanesque pattern seen elsewhere in Rouen, Normandy, and the Anglo-Norman world more widely.[32] These edifices are rectangular and have thick walls, a vaulted ground floor, a hall on the first

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[26] Halbout-Bertin, 'Le Monument Juif d'époque romane', p. 83.

[27] Baylé, 'Les Monuments juifs de Rouen', pp. 272–73.

[28] Pitte, 'Architecture civile en pierre à Rouen', pp. 265–66, and Golb, *The Jews in Medieval Normandy*, p. 155.

[29] Golb, *The Jews in Medieval Normandy*, pp. 155–57.

[30] Pitte, 'Architecture civile en pierre à Rouen', p. 266 (citing Cailleux, 'Recherches sur la topographie historique de Rouen au Moyen Âge', p. 35).

[31] Pitte, 'Architecture civile en pierre à Rouen', pp. 265–66 (buildings 2 and 4).

[32] Pitte, 'Architecture civile en pierre à Rouen', and Baylé, 'Les Monuments juifs de Rouen'.

floor, and possible additional levels for sleeping quarters.[33] In the case of the Jewish Monument on the site of the Palais de Justice, the sculptural decoration has parallels in the abbey church of Saint-Georges de Boscherville, further down the Seine valley, and in England. Maylis Baylé has suggested that the same architects who built Saint-Georges (after 1113) also built the Jewish Monument at an earlier date.[34] The quality of these buildings is thus a testament to the vitality and wealth of Rouen's Jewish community after the violence of 1096, and the place of the Jews more broadly in the city's growth in prosperity in the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries.

The Social, Economic, and Intellectual Significance of Rouen's Jewish Community

The massacre of Jews in Rouen in the autumn of 1096, immediately prior to or simultaneous with the departure of crusading armies from Normandy, is one of the most famous incidents in the history of Rouen's Jewish community. According to the account given by Guibert of Nogent in his autobiography, the Jews were compelled to enter 'a certain place of worship', where they were killed unless they converted. The departing crusaders were motivated to commit this violence by their awareness that, as they set out to travel very far to attack the Muslims, 'the Jews, of all races the worst enemy of God, are before our eyes'.[35] Although this pogrom was undoubtedly horrific, Robert Chazan notes that this was apparently the only instance in northern France of such violence against Jews at the beginning of the First Crusade, in contrast to the multiple persecutions in the Rhineland. He attributes this to the fact that the crusading armies first set out from France: they only became more restless as they progressed eastwards, had fewer supplies, and gained new recruits. In addition, there was firmer political control, to enforce the protection of Jews, in France than in the German Empire.[36] Given these factors, however, it is par-

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[33] Pitte, 'Architecture civile en pierre à Rouen'.

[34] Baylé, 'Les Monuments juifs de Rouen', pp. 258, 265.

[35] Golb, *The Jews in Medieval Normandy*, pp. 116–18, 557; Golb, *Les Juifs de Rouen au Moyen Âge*, pp. 76–78, 95; Chazan, *Medieval Jewry in Northern France*, p. 26; Nahon, 'Zarfat', p. 207. The translation here of Guibert de Nogent is taken from Golb, *The Jews in Medieval Normandy*, p. 557. See also Sherwood, 'A Convert of 1096', for a discussion of a Jewish boy who was saved from the violence by Guillaume d'Eu, was baptized, and became a monk in the monastery of Saint Germer de Flaix in Picardy.

[36] Chazan, *Medieval Jewry in Northern France*, pp. 25–27.

ticularly notable that Rouen's Jews did suffer persecution in 1096. Nonetheless, R. I. Moore notes that the city's Jewish community was quickly re-established, citing the construction of the Jewish Monument soon afterwards as evidence for its recovery. The commentator Samuel of Falaise, in the thirteenth century, described how he had studied with three Rouen masters, indicating that the city was a thriving centre of Jewish scholarship in this period.[37]

Golb has argued for the great importance of the intellectual activity of Rouen's medieval Jewish community.[38] Such activity should be understood in the broader context of Jewish intellectual life in northern France, which was mostly oral in form. As a result of the activities of scholars such as Joseph Tov Elem of Limoges (or Le Mans) and Rashi (Solomon b. Isaac, *c.* 1040–1105) of Troyes, Capetian France became the major centre for studies of the Talmud and the Bible.[39] Golb posits that the Andalusian writer Abraham ibn Ezra resided in Rouen in the twelfth century and has identified more than twenty citations of 'RDWM', meaning 'Rodom', a Latin name for Rouen, in Hebrew manuscripts.[40] However, it has been suggested that Golb should have been more tentative and cautious in drawing his conclusions regarding the community's intellectual significance: his identifications of 'RDWM', for example, are often based on claims that previous palaeographers had misread manuscripts when they failed to identify the toponym, which may not always be the case.[41]

Yet although there is debate over Jewish intellectual culture in the city, the prominent role of the Jews in the economic affairs of Rouen, one of the major financial centres of the Anglo-Norman realm, is undisputed. The geographical location of the Jewish quarter directly adjacent to the financial district, situated around the church of Notre-Dame de la Ronde and along the rue du Gros-Horloge, reflects the Jews' financial activities, particularly their role in lending large sums of money to the king and leading citizens.[42]

The cultural, intellectual, and economic influence of Rouen's Jewish community extended across the Channel, since many of the Jews who settled in England after 1066 came from Rouen. However, the annexation of Normandy to Philip Augustus in 1204 did affect contacts between English and Norman

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[37] Moore, 'Anti-Semitism and the Birth of Europe', pp. 36–37.

[38] Golb, *Les Juifs de Rouen au Moyen Âge*; Golb, *The Jews in Medieval Normandy*.

[39] Nahon, 'Zarfat', pp. 206–07.

[40] Golb, *The Jews in Medieval Normandy*, pp. xiv–xv, xvii.

[41] See Talmage, 'Review of Norman Golb'; Robinson, 'Review of Golb, *Les Juifs de Rouen*'.

[42] Gauthiez, 'Paris, un Rouen capétien?', pp. 123, 127.

Jews, as between England and Normandy more generally.[43] The Jews of Normandy also suffered economically after 1204. They experienced periodic severe taxation under the French kings, particularly in 1210, 1224–26, and 1227. Although these levies became less substantial following the interdiction of usury in the 1230s, that interdiction led to a significant decline in the prosperity of the Jews in Normandy and other parts of northern France. The burning of the Talmud in Paris in 1242 signified damage to Jewish intellectual culture in this period, although intellectual activity appears to have persisted in parts of Normandy.[44]

In the thirteenth century, the Jews evidently stood apart as a separate group within Rouen's society, although some Jews apparently achieved integration by converting to Christianity, a practice promoted by King Louis IX (1226–70).[45] At the provincial council of Pont-Audemer on 12 September 1257, Eudes Rigaud, Archbishop of Rouen (1248–75), a close friend of Louis IX, instructed that Jews should wear distinctive signs to distinguish them from Christians and that no Christians should work in Jewish homes or live with Jews.[46] The Archbishop's concern to distinguish Jews from Christians and arguably his negativity towards Jews were demonstrated on 18 April 1266, when he condemned a man who had twice converted from Judaism to Christianity but each time had reverted to his original faith. The man was declared a heretic and an apostate at a public gathering near the Mare-du-Parc, a place in the suburb of Saint-Sever on the other side of the Seine from Rouen, where another man, Jean Marel (not a Jew), had been condemned as a heretic on 22 June 1253.[47]

[43] Jordan, *The French Monarchy and the Jews*, pp. 49–50, 51. R. I. Moore argues, however, that Rouen's Jews were 'seemingly unaffected by the fall of Normandy': Moore, 'Anti-Semitism and the Birth of Europe', p. 36.

[44] Jordan, 'Archbishop Eudes Rigaud and the Jews of Normandy', pp. 43–44, 44, n. 26.

[45] Jordan, 'Archbishop Eudes Rigaud and the Jews of Normandy', p. 48.

[46] Eudes Rigaud, *Regestrum visitationum archiepiscopi Rothomagensis*, ed. by Bonnin, p. 287; Eudes Rigaud, *The Register*, trans. by Brown, p. 325. This statute was repeated at two further councils at Pont-Audemer on 29 January 1259 (= 1260) and 26 January 1260 (= 1261), and at the provincial council at Vernon on 29 January 1263 (= 1264): Eudes Rigaud, *Regestrum visitationum archiepiscopi Rothomagensis*, ed. by Bonnin, pp. 357, 388, 482; Eudes Rigaud, *The Register*, trans. by Brown, pp. 407, 441, 550; Jordan, 'Archbishop Eudes Rigaud and the Jews of Normandy', pp. 46–47. Jordan points out that this instruction was 'adopted from standard ecclesiastical conciliar legislation': see Canon 68, 'Ut Judaei discernantur a christianis in habitu' (That Jews should be distinguished from Christians in their dress), of the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215 (*Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, ed. and trans. by Tanner, I, 266).

[47] Eudes Rigaud, *Regestrum visitationum archiepiscopi Rothomagensis*, ed. by Bonnin,

The lapsed converted Jew was burned to death by the *bailli* of Rouen, Julien de Peronne.[48] This case may reflect considerable pressure on Jews to convert in thirteenth-century Rouen and suggests that a relapse to Judaism was perceived to be highly threatening to the religious and social order of the city.

Despite Eudes Rigaud's severe action against the lapsed Jewish convert, however, William Chester Jordan suggests that the Archbishop's position with regard to the Jews was 'at the middle of the spectrum of attitudes' towards Jews.[49] Indeed, on 9 September 1267 Eudes demonstrated his respect for Jewish property by instructing the punishment of three men who had robbed the Jews of Gournay.[50] Earlier, on 5 January 1249, the Archbishop compelled the Abbess and community of Saint-Amand, Rouen, to honour an apostolic mandate whereby they were to support Richard of Pontoise, 'a convert from Judaism to the Catholic faith', who appears to have entered Saint-Amand as a lay brother, and his wife Oda and daughter Joanna.[51] Eudes established that the nuns of Saint-Amand should pay Oda and Joanna 40 *sous* of Tours per year.[52] Although the Archbishop may here have been simply resolving a dispute, it is possible that he was seeking to protect the practice of conversion and that the dispute had arisen due to the nuns' reluctance to support Oda and Joanna, who may not themselves have converted.

At least two converted Jews became powerful burgesses in thirteenth-century Rouen, suggesting that former Jews (presumably those who were wealthy merchants) could become fully assimilated within the city's elite society. Ralph the Jew appears as a witness in a charter of Robert and Emma de Saint-Jacques

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pp. 160, 541; Eudes Rigaud, *The Register*, trans. by Brown, pp. 175, 618; Davis, *The Holy Bureaucrat*, pp. 137, 141, 230, n. 50; Jordan, 'Archbishop Eudes Rigaud and the Jews of Normandy', pp. 48–49. On the Mare-du-Parc, see Periaux, *Dictionnaire indicateur et historique des rues et places de Rouen*, p. 364.

[48] Eudes Rigaud, *Regestrum visitationum archiepiscopi Rothomagensis*, ed. by Bonnin, p. 541; Eudes Rigaud, *The Register*, trans. by Brown, p. 618; Jordan, 'Archbishop Eudes Rigaud and the Jews of Normandy', p. 48.

[49] Jordan, 'Archbishop Eudes Rigaud and the Jews of Normandy', p. 51. Jordan also notes, on p. 47, that the Archbishop's attitudes towards the Jews are difficult to discern.

[50] Eudes Rigaud, *Regestrum visitationum archiepiscopi Rothomagensis*, ed. by Bonnin, p. 587; Eudes Rigaud, *The Register*, trans. by Brown, p. 676; Jordan, 'Archbishop Eudes Rigaud and the Jews of Normandy', pp. 49–50.

[51] 'de judaismo ad fidem catholicam conversus': Le Cacheux, 'Histoire de l'abbaye de Saint-Amand de Rouen', pp. 259–61 (p. 260, n. 7); Johnson, *Equal in Monastic Profession*, p. 179.

[52] Le Cacheux, 'Histoire de l'abbaye de Saint-Amand de Rouen', p. 260.

issued in favour of the *leprosarium* of Mont-aux-Malades, north-west of Rouen, between 1181 and 1182. This charter was confirmed by Robert du Chastel, Mayor of Rouen (1181–82), indicating that Ralph was an officer of the civic government (the commune).[53] Robert the Jew was another prominent burgess.[54] The two men's nomenclature is not surprising: elsewhere in France converted Jews were still referred to as 'Jew'. In her study of the Jews of medieval Champagne, Emily Taitz notes that, in this region, Jewish converts were described in many documents as 'the baptized', 'once a Jew', or 'the convert' and that 'a certain "Peter, called the Jew" (*Petrus dictus judaeus*), who was either a converted Jew himself or the son of a convert, left large amounts of money to the Church in 1254'.[55]

Ralph the Jew was himself a benefactor of Mont-aux-Malades. Between 1206 and 1218, he donated to the *leprosarium* 10 *sous* of rent in perpetuity due from a house in the parish of Saint-Vigor. Ralph made his gift for the salvation of himself, his parents, ancestors, children, and successors, echoing the arrangements for the salvation of family members made by many other benefactors of Mont-aux-Malades.[56] His belief that salvation could be procured through the patronage of a Christian *leprosarium* clearly demonstrates that he was himself a Christian by this time, participating in the practices of charity so fashionable among Rouen's burgess elite in the thirteenth century.[57]

Conclusion

Frustratingly little evidence survives concerning Rouen's Jewish community in the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries. Although the community's origins are unclear, it appears probable that, like other communities in the Rhineland and northern France, it was settled in the late tenth and eleventh centuries. Much of the evidence that we do have indicates that the Jews were to a large extent integrated into urban life, through both the geographical location of their quarter, close to the cathedral and the financial district, and their

[53] Rouen, Arch. dép. de la Seine-Maritime, 25 HP 1, folder 8, doc. xiv.

[54] Musset, 'Rouen au temps des Francs et sous les ducs', p. 64.

[55] Taitz, *The Jews of Medieval France*, p. 175.

[56] Rouen, Arch. dép. de la Seine-Maritime, 25 HP 3, folder 6, doc. iv. On the numerous charitable gifts received by Mont-aux-Malades in this period, see Brenner, 'Charity in Rouen in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries', especially chs 1–2.

[57] See Brenner, 'Charity in Rouen in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries'.

key role in the financial affairs of the city. Archaeological findings in the rue aux Juifs and Hebrew sources testify to the cultural and intellectual sophistication of the Jewish community, and certain Jewish converts were members of Rouen's communal government in the thirteenth century. Nonetheless, the measures of Archbishop Eudes Rigaud regarding a lapsed converted Jew, and the perceived need to keep Jews and Christians separate, suggest that the relationship between Christians and Jews in Rouen continued to be uneasy long after the violence of 1096. Even though they played a crucial economic role in this centre of international trade, the Jews remained a potentially vulnerable minority in Rouen's society throughout this period.

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